

Eberhard Fischer
Dinanath Pathy

In the Absence of Jagannatha

The *Anasara* Paintings Replacing the Jagannatha Icon in Puri and South Orissa (India)

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NIYOGI BOOKS

Eberhard Fischer is an art historian and cultural anthropologist. Till recently he was the Director of the Museum Rietberg Zurich. Shifting attention from his early interest in African art to the art and culture of India in 1965, he became deeply involved first in the craft traditions of India, especially textiles, and then the mainstream Indian art. Having worked in different regions of India, from Gujarat to Orissa, from Himachal Pradesh to Kerala, he has written extensively, collaborating with a number of renowned colleagues: Among his most authoritative works are: *Rural Craftsmen and their Work* (with Haku Shah, 1971), *Jaina Iconography* I and II (with Jyotindra Jain, 1978), *The Patola of Gujarat* (with Alfred Bühler, 1979), *Orissa, Kunst und Kultur in Nordost Indien* (with Dinanath Pathy and Sitakant Mahapatra, 1980), *Wonders of a Golden Age*, 1987 and *Pahari Masters: Court Painters of Northern India* (with BN Goswamy, 1992), *Murals for Goddesses and Gods* (with Dinanath Pathy, 1996), *The Temple of Devi Kothi* (with V.C. Ohri and Vijay Sharma, 2002), *Amorous Delight: The Amarushataka Palm-Leaf Manuscript* (with Dinanath Pathy, 2006) and *Gitagovinda* (in German, with Dinanath Pathy, 2010). In addition he also wrote monographs on African art-regions like *The Arts of the Dan in West Africa* (with Hans Himmelheber,1984) and *Guro: Masks, Performances and Master Carvers in Ivory Coast* (2008). He was awarded *Padma Shri* by the President of India in 2011.

Dinanath Pathy is a practising contemporary painter, art historian and creative writer. He has significantly researched into the pictorial art traditions of Orissa, its traditional and contemporary nuances, has published extensively, designed and curated international exhibitions. He has been founder-principal of the B.K. College of Art and Crafts, Bhubaneswar, Secretary Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi, recipient of the Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship and is currently Director Alice Boner Institute Varanasi. He is a renowned specialist for Orissan art history, especially painting and has published books like: *Mural Paintings in Orissa*, 1981; *Traditional Paintings of Orissa*, 1990; *Essence of Orissan Paintings*, 2001; *The Painted Icons – Wall Paintings of the Saura of South Orissa*, 1996; *The Temple of Jagannatha, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Ritual*, 2001. He collaborated with Eberhard Fischer since 1977 and jointly with him produced a great number of research articles and books in English as well as in German like: *Murals for Goddesses and Gods – the Tradition of Osakothi Ritual Painting in Orissa*, 1996 and *Amorous Delight: The Amarushataka Palm Leaf Manuscript*, 2006. He illustrated children books for UNICEF like *Gita and her village in India*, 1983 and *Gita will be a dancer*, 1986 (with Barbara and Eberhard Fischer). As a creative writer he produced innovative novels in Odia and won the Orissa Sahitya Akademi award for his *Drawing Master of Digapahandi* (2nd English edition, 2010).

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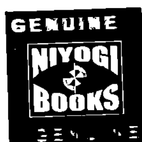
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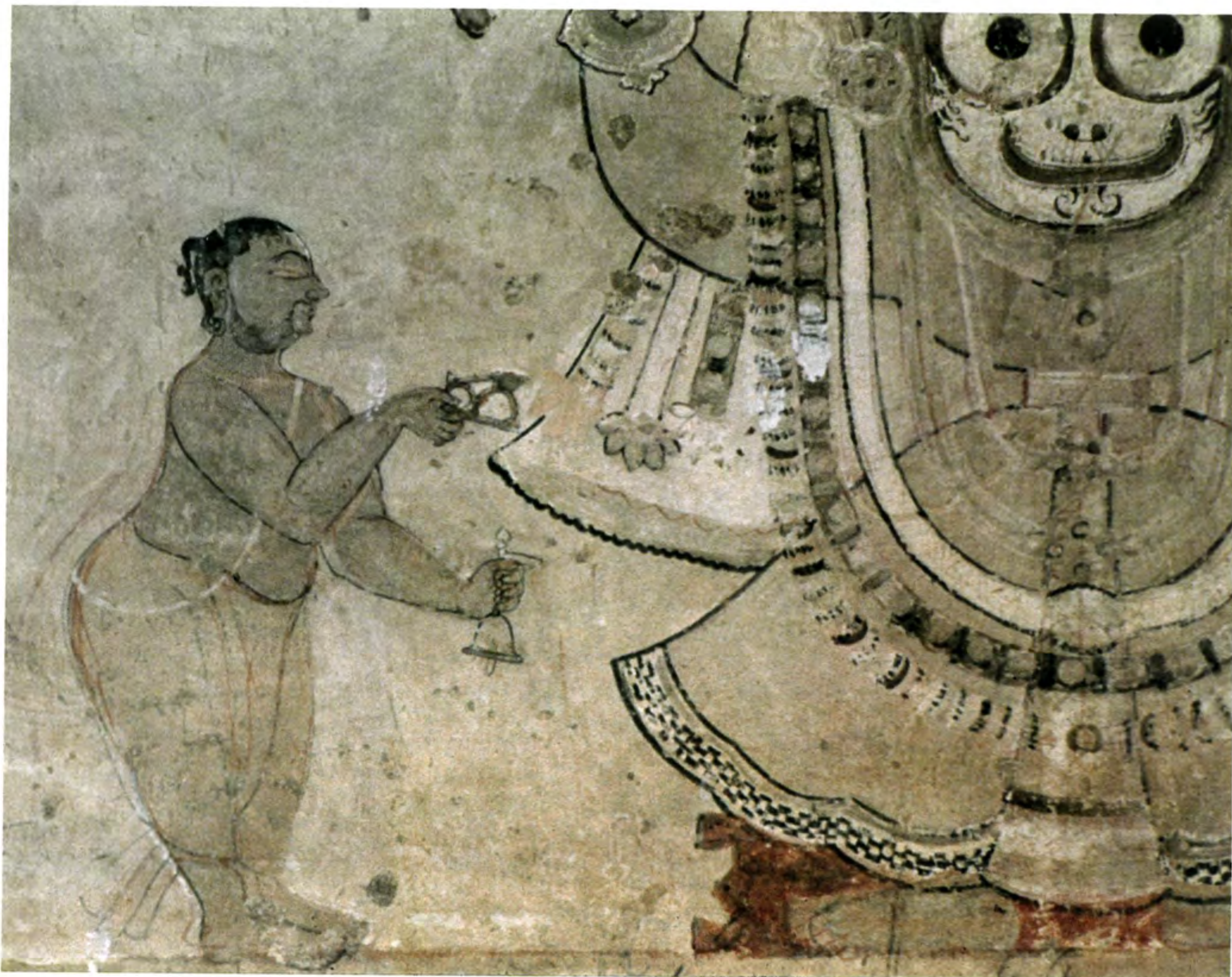
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Preface

The two authors have worked together since 1977. Fieldwork for this monograph has been undertaken mostly by Dinanath Pathy (together with Ramahari Jena). We wrote the text jointly, for the most part in Oviga (Onsernone Valley) during several summer stays.

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Without Barbara Fischer, the hospitable and cheerful spirit of Oviga and Zurich, we two authors would not have been able to produce this book. We thank her for her generosity, all her care and support, and dedicate this outcome of many weeks' pleasurable work in solitude to her.

March 2012

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Winterthur and Oviga

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Fig. 1 The Jagannatha temple in Puri during the Jagannatha festival, 1977



Fig. 2 The Jagannatha *ratha* with all three temple carts in Puri, 1977

Introduction

This monograph documents in its first part the few known authentic late 20th-century samples of *anasara pati* paintings from professional painter-workshops in Puri, Cuttack and South Orissa, and also gives the available information on their production and function. Since the iconography of these ritualistic paintings is defined by the authorities of the Jagannatha temple in Puri – one of India's four most sacred sites *(dhama)* – and has to be strictly adhered to by the painters, changes in iconographic details and even stylistic features can be only minimal within the life-span of one generation. Nevertheless minor deviations occur in the workshops at the centre (Puri) as well as at the periphery (Cuttack District and South Orissa). By carefully viewing existing samples, the exact range of variations, the scope for idiosyncrasies, personal liberties and preferences, and the perpetuation of minor changes in the production of these ritualistic pictures can be noted.

The essay thus serves as a study of "micro art history", spanning a period of only thirty years, documenting a kind of iconographic evolution, i.e. the minute changes of formal elements and style in the production of icon pictures that are annually painted afresh strictly adhering to given rules, repeating exactly but not copying mechanically existing forms in the face of an ideology advocated and severely controlled by temple authorities that doesn't permit something like "changes" but believes in the permanence of eternal values and forms.

In the second part of the book we try to reconstruct the history of *anasara* pictures, the painted icons used temporarily as replacements for the then-absent wooden cult images. Here we are interested in two main issues: (a) why do two different iconographies co-exist and (b) under what conditions might these painted "classical" triptychs have been invented and made to stay.

Not very much historic material is available for us to reconstruct the history of the Puri icons. We don't discuss the sophisticated theological discourses that must have taken place among the highly learned Brahmins of the Puri temple. We have focused on trying to understand how the interests of the pilgrims, the temple priests, saints and their followers were interrelated. For this we have combined hitherto unnoticed or at least not much emphasized information on the establishments and major events that gained importance for Puri in the 17th century with the evolution of the *anasara pati* iconography as it continues unbroken till today.

For a better understanding of the intriguing iconography and style of these two-dimensional temporary but annual replacements of the wooden icons, the question is raised as to why these pictures are so different from what they represent and what is normally worshipped by the priests and viewed by devotees in the Jagannatha temples of Orissa. This art-historical question is puzzling, but with new source material some conclusions can be presented.

Traditionally, the professional painters *(citrakara)* of Orissa produce pictures on cloth,[1] for which they use cotton rags glued together with tamarind paste to make thick sheets. These canvases (*pata* or *pati*) can later be rolled for storage. Their surface is first primed with chalk also mixed with tamarind paste; the actual painting is done with pigments, using elephant apple-tree juice *(kaitha)* as a binding medium. Finally, a painting will be shellaced[2] unless it is produced for a temporary function only. Customarily, the Orissan painters make use of six "primary" unmixed colours (white, yellow, red, ochre, blue, black – and rarely in addition green, pink and orange wherever locally available). Their stock of motifs and their traditional repertory are rather limited. They produce (a) paintings used ritualistically in the Jagannatha temples, (b) souvenir pictures for pilgrims, and (c) pictures of other deities,[3] playing cards, erotic paintings and other illustrations for enjoyment[4] sold in the bazaars, besides (d) the production of murals especially for monastic institutions *(mathas)*[5] and well-to-do private houses for festive occasions like marriages, and, to a smaller degree, (e) decorations on wooden boards, doors and pots for various profane as well as religious purposes.

In the last two centuries, the most important "patrons" of the professional painters[6] were the Jagannatha temples in Puri and the many former capitals of local rajas *(gadajatas)* and landlords *(zamindars)*, where the numerous annual festivals were and still are celebrated.[7] These events take place with fairs, where paintings are purchased by devotees as objects of remembrance, and less for actual worship in private homes, though these *pata* pictures are usually hung on the wall behind the house-shrines. In most towns with Jagannatha temples *citrakara* workshops exist, of which the leading master (*hakim* or *vindhani*) is engaged by the temple authorities for regular service *(seva)* to the deity, i.e. to supply all art work necessary for the annual rituals in the Jagannatha-temple.

For the pilgrims, it is mostly pictures of the three wooden icons, so-called "pilgrim sheets" *(jatri patas)*, that are painted (see fig. 6, 7, 154).[8] These bazaar pictures can be minimal with the triad plainly and very simply depicted,[9] with routine brush work and few colours or elaborate images of the icons representing a specific festive appearance



Fig. 3 The multi-caste village of Raghurajpur near Puri, 1978



Fig. 4 A senior painter preparing a *jatri pata* painting in Raghurajpur, 1978



Fig. 5 A *citrakara* painting a souvenir picture for pilgrims in Raghurajpur, 1978



Fig. 6 The Jagannatha temple in Puri by an unknown *citrakara* painter, c. 1930.

of the deities, i.e. showing the icons decorated with the costume *(vesa)* as prescribed for that occasion. Even more detailed and minutely executed large-size pictures of the entire temple complex with the Jagannatha triad at the centre are painted (see fig. 45, 46). These emblematic representations of the sacred town of Puri *(thia badhia)* are visual reminders of the place with the imposing temple structure. Customarily, devotees whose wish had been fulfilled by the deity hung them as their donation on the walls of religious establishments *(matha)* of their home region, where they were signs of religious power but not used ceremoniously.

There exists, however, one group of ritual paintings on cloth, which is prepared solely for worship in the Jagannatha temples.[10] These pictures (see fig. 51–102) represent the deities as *sampura murtis* in full frontal view as is necessary for worship.[11] They form a triptych and are called *anasara pati*, which is derived from the Sanskrit term *anavasara* "having no interval of leisure,[12] being busy, coming when there is no such interval" according to the Monier-Williams Dictionary.[13] Sanskrit *ana-avasara* has been corrupted to *anasara* in Oriya. In the terminology of the Puri temple priests, the *anasara patis* are often also referred to as "cloth-painting deity" (*pati devata* or *pati deva*), since these pictures are considered representations of the gods and goddesses.[14]

Three such *anasara* pictures are annually prepared as a triptych by designated painters, who have received from the temple authorities the exclusive right to paint them for the worship of the Jagannatha triad. They represent the three deities Jagannatha, Subhadra and Balabhadra, and as a triptych temporarily replace the three wooden cult images in an iconic two-dimensional form and are then worshipped under the names of Narayana, Bhuvaneshvari and Ananta, respectively.[15]



Fig. 7 Jagannatha *pata* in Digapahandi, Ganjam District, 1978

1 Four good monographs exist on *pata* paintings: Mohanty, 1980; Das, 1982; and Pathy, 1981 and 1990. In addition we have dealt with these issues in Fischer–Pathy, 1980. A summary of our views is given in Fischer–Pathy, 2001. For this publication new documents were supplied by fieldwork carried out by Dinanath Pathy in recent years.
2 Fischer–Pathy, 1980, 231–235; Mohanty, 1980, 12–15; Das, 1982, 90–98.
3 Images of Shiva and Ganesha, for instance, are regularly painted on house doors of Brahmin patrons, see Bundgaard, 1999, 91–95.
4 For a painted *ragamala* picture set see Williams, 1988.
5 Especially in and around Puri a large number of religious establishments (*mathas*) exist to cater to the needs of various groups of pilgrims.
6 It is likely that in the time before the Jagannatha cult spread all over Orissa, the local courts favoured other deities like Rama and the Devi, Narasimha, Shiva etc., and in previous centuries the local painters were obliged to paint their images and illustrate their myths.
7 The most important settlements of *citrakara* painters are in Puri, the nearby villages Dandasahi and Raghurajpur, and the surrounding area (Karadagadia, Manpur, Tigiria). But in many towns with Jagannatha temples at the periphery of the Puri orbit, especially in South Orissa, *citrakara* workshops enjoy local temple patronage (Chikitigada, Digapahandi, Barapalligada, Dharakote, Paralakhemandi, Jayapur etc.).
8 A classification of paintings for pilgrims comprising eleven genres (and, in addition, nine that are not produced anymore) was done by the painter Jagannatha Mahapatra of Raghurajpur, see Pathy, 1990, 69f.; Archer, 1977, 112 mentions that she was told in Puri "that a pilgrimage to Puri was incomplete unless a pilgrim took back with him five *patas* of Jagannatha, five beads, five cane sticks and dried rice from the temple."
9 See Archer, 1977; Das, 1982, pl. 27, and Rossi, 1998, 71–82.
10 Probably Kulke, 1973, 138 was the first author to mention these *anasara patis* in a research article and Das, 1982, the first to realize the artistic importance of these pictures.



Fig. 8 Jagannatha triad in a Jagannatha temple in Digapahandi, 1978

11 Generally pictures showing divinities in profile are considered *asampura* and are not fit for worship, see Bundgaard, 1999, 95. But there are exceptions (Durga Mahishasuramardini and Ganesha).

12 Hardenberg, 1998, 340 explains that, according to Puri priests: "For Gods there are periods of 'free' time, when they can grant human beings to view them *(darshan)* and 'un-free' times, when they are not to be seen by mankind." (This is the time when they sleep, are dressed, take food, are bathed or are ill.) Marglin, 1985, 72 refers to another local etymology of *anabasara*, "without sap or essence".

13 The Puri priests explain *anavasara* as "never changing with the season" (i.e. untiring, busy, annual).

14 In Puri, the *anasara patis* are – strangely enough – also spoken of under the term *dashavatara thakura*.

15 Several more names are used for the three deities in their sculptural as well as painted form.



Fig. 9 The Jagannatha temple in Puri, 2011

Part I



Fig. 10 In front of the Jagannatha temple complex in Puri, 2011

The Wooden Triad in the Jagannatha Temple

Three icons,[16] carved out of solid *nim* wood that is covered with layers of cloth primed with tamarind gum and chalk, and painted over with lampsoot black and conch-shell white, mineral red and yellow, are worshipped in the sanctum of the Jagannatha temple in Puri (see fig. 1, 9, 10), as well as in many peripheral royal residence towns in today's Orissa and adjacent states. The monumental Jagannatha temple *(bada deula)* of Puri was built by King Anantavarman Codaganga deva in the mid-12th century.[17] The images (see fig. 11–13) are seated in the sanctum on a high stone platform, called a jewel pedestal *(ratna vedi)*, in a fixed order from left to right known as Balabhadra,[18] Subhadra[19] and Jagannatha.[20] A fourth and much smaller pillar-like image represents Sudarshana *cakra*, the sacred disc of Vishnu. Small metal images of Lakshmi and Krishna are also kept on the *ratnavedi* pedestal.[21]

The wooden statues (see also fig. 16), about 2.2 metres high, have large heads attached to globular pedestals representing their bodies. Balabhadra and Jagannatha have carved broad shoulders, from which at ear level two cylindrical stumps emerge horizontally that are treated as arms. Subhadra is without such arms and her two hands are painted hanging down on the front of her cylindrical body, joined together in the middle. On the front of the arm stumps of Balabhadra his attributes are painted: pestle *(mushala)* on the left and plough *(hala)* on the right. On top of his head a seven-headed snake hood is shown, the tail of which hangs down on his back. On the left arm stump of Jagannatha the disc *(cakra)* and on the right the conch *(shankha)* are depicted, emblems of god Vishnu.

The faces of the icons slant on both sides, forming a vertical ridge in the middle, which represents the nose.



Fig. 11–13 The Jagannatha triad (Balabhadra, Subadhra and Jagannatha) in *suna vesa* on the chariots during the car festival in Puri, c. 1977

Two large round eyes with black circles dominate the faces. They are outlined in red, which make them appear lively and somewhat fierce looking. The mouths *(adhara)* are painted like a crescent but with rounded corners. The upper edge of Jagannatha's face is straight whereas those of his companions are oval. Balabhadra's forehead is scooped out like a snake hood, whereas Jagannatha's is tilted back, as is that of Subhadra. Balabhadra's eyes are encased in oval shapes, which can be delineated, white and yellow indicating eyelids and eyebrows. The face of Jagannatha is devoid of such details and appears stark black, projecting only the two monumental round eyes *(caka dola)*, which are praised again and again in poems and prayer songs.

Round lotuses are painted on the bodies and the top of the heads of all three icons.

The red footprint of a legendary Srivatcha Brahmin appears on the lower right of Jagannatha's body. Except for the eyes, all details of the head and body usually remain concealed from the viewer under the heavy and extravagant costumes *(vesa)*, in which the icons are clad before the devotees have access to the sanctum. There are sixteen to twenty prescribed special costumes according to season and time, in addition to the daily dresses that are changed four times a day from the waking-up ceremony and the ritual morning bath until the deities retire to bed in the evening. During the annual car festival, when all the pomp associated with the "Lord of the Universe" is displayed, the icons are dressed (see fig. 11–13) in golden attire *(suna vesa)*.



Fig.14 The main gate to the Jagannatha temple in Puri, 2011



Fig. 15 The Jagannatha triad placed on the bathing porch in Puri, c. 1980

The Bathing Festival *(Snana Yatra)* and the Repainting of the Icons

On a day of full moon in the month of *Jyestha* (June/July), the three icons[22] are removed from their high stone platform *(ratnavedi)* in the main shrine and taken in a procession to the open bathing porch *(snana mandapa)*, which is inside the temple complex, but close to the compound wall (see fig. 15, 16). This spot is clearly visible to devotees even from the road outside the temple. The back wall of this high platform is painted with three upside-down lotuses, and a canopy is raised over the icons. Here, they are given a ritual bath with 108 pots of water, brought from a specific well. By this ritual bath, the colours of the wooden icons are partly washed away. Now the wet red clothes[23] are changed and the icons are dressed in the elephant costume *(hati vesa)*.[24] Large masks of cloth (see fig. 17) supported at the back by straightened bamboo, on which are stitched cut-out silver-like tinsel motifs of paper coated on one side with metal foil and glittering fibres of a water plant *(solapith)*, are fixed on the heads of the male deities, leaving only the centre portions open so that the eyes of the icons remain visible for the viewers.

The elephant facemasks in Puri[25] consist of two lotus-shaped bulbous foreheads and large ears; a mouth and two tusks are added. The stump-formed arms are decorated with the attributes carried in the upper hands of the icons, and large U-shaped marks with a concentric circle from the bottom of which a pendant hangs down *(vishnu cita)*, are fixed to the foreheads. Jagannatha's elephant costume shines like silver and Balabhadra's looks golden. Between the two, Subhadra is decorated with many garlands and circular flower arrangements. Her face is adorned with only a rhombic silver ornament *(cita)*.

In Puri it is said that this particular elephant costume *(hati vesa)*, which is visible annually on this one day only, marking the beginning of the annual festive calendar of the Jagannatha temple, came into existence particularly to please a devotee of Ganesha from South India. The legend[26] speaks of a Bhatta Brahmin by the name of Ganapati Bhatta from the village Kaniyari in Karnataka. When on a *chardham* – pilgrimage to the four most sacred places *(kshetras)* of India – he refused in Puri to receive *darshan* of Lord Jagannatha because he insisted on worshipping only Ganesha. The Lord knowing and respecting his single-minded devotion assumed therefore the appearance of the elephant-headed god "to underline his ultimate identity with all the gods". This disguise made it possible for the South Indian Brahmin – and from then onwards for many South Indian and Maratha pilgrims – to join the folds of the Puri devotees of Jagannatha. And since that day, the Jagannatha triad is robed once a year in the elephant costume.[27]

The Jagannatha triad is dressed in the *hati vesa* "in order to assume the personality of Ganesha," who is otherwise not directly connected with god Vishnu.[28] It is of significance what G.C. Tripathi, 2004, 85 has observed: this "untraditional" *Ganesha vesa* is not worn by the Jagannatha triad inside the temple, but was "relegated to an occasion when the deities were outside, on the bathing platform and there too it was allowed to be observed more or less as a formality devoid of any religious significance". This ritual has neither any importance for the worship of Jagannatha nor does this event take place on a day customarily specific for the worship of Ganesha. It is an interpolation for political and economic reasons. In addition, the costs for this arrangement are not borne by the temple authorities but by two local religious establishments *(mathas)*. It is therefore most likely – according to Tripathi – that this *hati vesa* was introduced "after the Marathas took over the administrative control ... and also more or less managed the affairs of the Temple," i.e. in the second half of the 18th century.

The same evening, after the public appearance of the three deities in these extraordinary *hati vesa* costumes, the wooden icons are in a somewhat ramshackle condition when they are returned to the sanctum. Now they are placed below the stone platform *(ratnavedi)* in the adjoining vestibule[29] on cylindrical mounts *(anasara pindis)*. A bamboo curtain *(tati)* is hung up in front of the icons and devotees are prevented from seeing them. On this temporary partition wall three ritualistic paintings *(anasara patis)* are fixed and for the next two weeks the daily offerings are given to them instead of to the wooden statues. This replacement lasts up to the time that the ceremony of "viewing new youth" *(navajaubana darshan)* on the following new moon day is performed, an event that is also called "when the wooden icons re-appear" *(ubha amavasya)*.[30] The annually produced pictures are not used anymore after this occasion.



Fig. 16 The Jagannatha icons during the ritual bath, Puri, 2006

16 "The Puri triad are anthropomorphic deities and rituals are performed in the temple on the assumption of the presence of the deities in the three wooden images," Das, 1982, 29.
17 Kulke, 1979, 41ff.
18 Balabhadra, otherwise known as Balarama, is like Krishna a son of Vasudeva and Devaki. When still in the embryo state, "he was dragged out of the womb of Devaki by the gods and placed in the womb of Rohini, one of the two wives of Nanda", Tripathi, 2004, 377.
19 Subhadra is the name of the daughter of Nanda and Yashoda (or Vasudeva and Devaki), married by her brothers to the Pandava Arjuna. She became the mother of Abhimanyu. Her name has in all likelihood replaced that of Yoganidra or Ekanamsha of earlier times. She is worshipped with the *Bhuvaneshvari mantra*, see Tripathi, 2004, 384f.
20 Jagannatha, "Lord of the World", also called Jagadisha (for instance in the *Gitagovinda* by Jayadeva), was referred to earlier as Purushottama, the "Supreme Being".
21 Das, 1982, 28. In South Orissa, small-size bronze-cast icons *(vije pratima)*, that are worshipped along with the main triad and taken out in processions with them, are called Madanamohana and Krishna (belonging to Jagannatha), Lakshmi and Sarasvati (to Subhadra), Dola Govinda, Balarama and Narasimha (to Balabhadra). These seven icons have, no counterparts in paintings during the *anasara* rituals.
22 Das, 1982, 36, mentions that Sudarshana *cakra* is also taken to the *snana vedi*.
23 These red textiles are an equivalent to the *gamcha*-towels that are traditionally used by men when taking a bath.
24 Das, 1982, 117 gives the Sanskrit term "*gajanana vesa*".
25 The *hati vesa* for the icons of the Jagannatha temple of Chikitigada (see fig. 18) are possibly even more impressive than the Puri ones: here, the face masks are prepared from cloth, stuffed and stitched to resemble the features of a real elephant.
26 See Tripathi, 2004, 84, quoting the *Dardhyata bhakti* legend as published by S.N. Vidyavinoda.
27 According to Tripathi, 2004, 84, this oldest reference to *Ganesha vesa* in *Dardhyata bhakt*, was written during Maratha rule in Orissa, probably c. 1768. It is likely that the recorded event took place in the same period.
28 Tripathi, 2004, 83.
29 During the year, this space is used for offering the early morning *bhoga* of uncooked food to the deities before the morning *puja* starts. See Tripathi, 2004, 127.
30 See Hardenberg, 1998, 339.



Fig. 17 The Jagannatha triad in elephant costume (*hati vesa*) in Puri, 2006

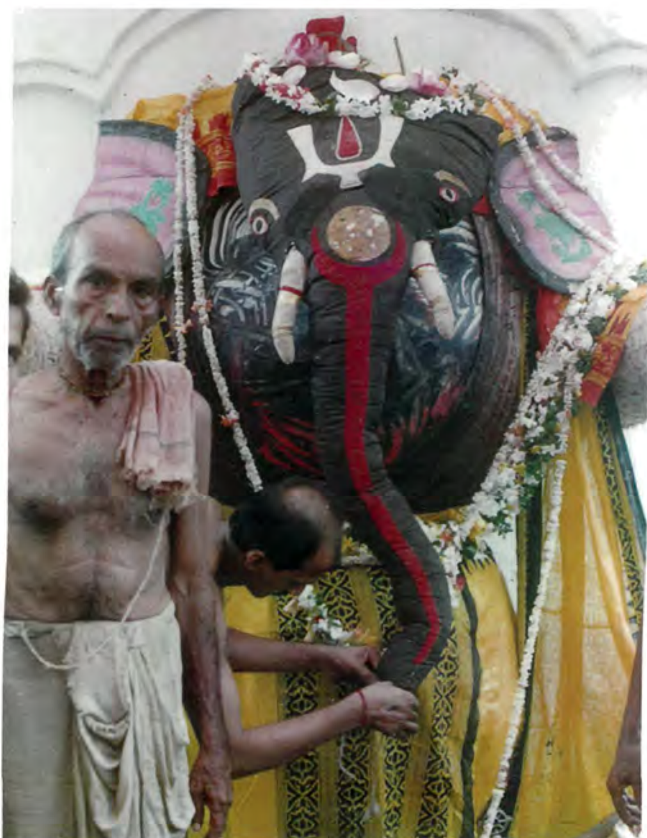


Fig. 18 The Jagannatha triad in the *hati vesa* costume in Chikitigada



Fig. 19 The Jagannatha triad on the porch of the Jagannatha temple in Dharakote

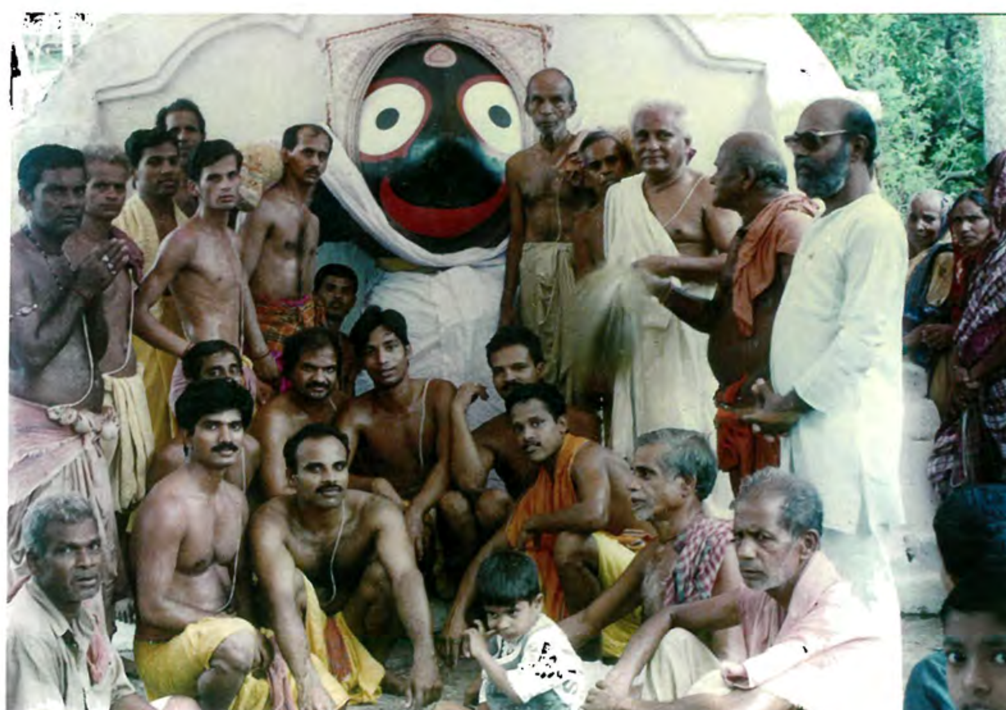
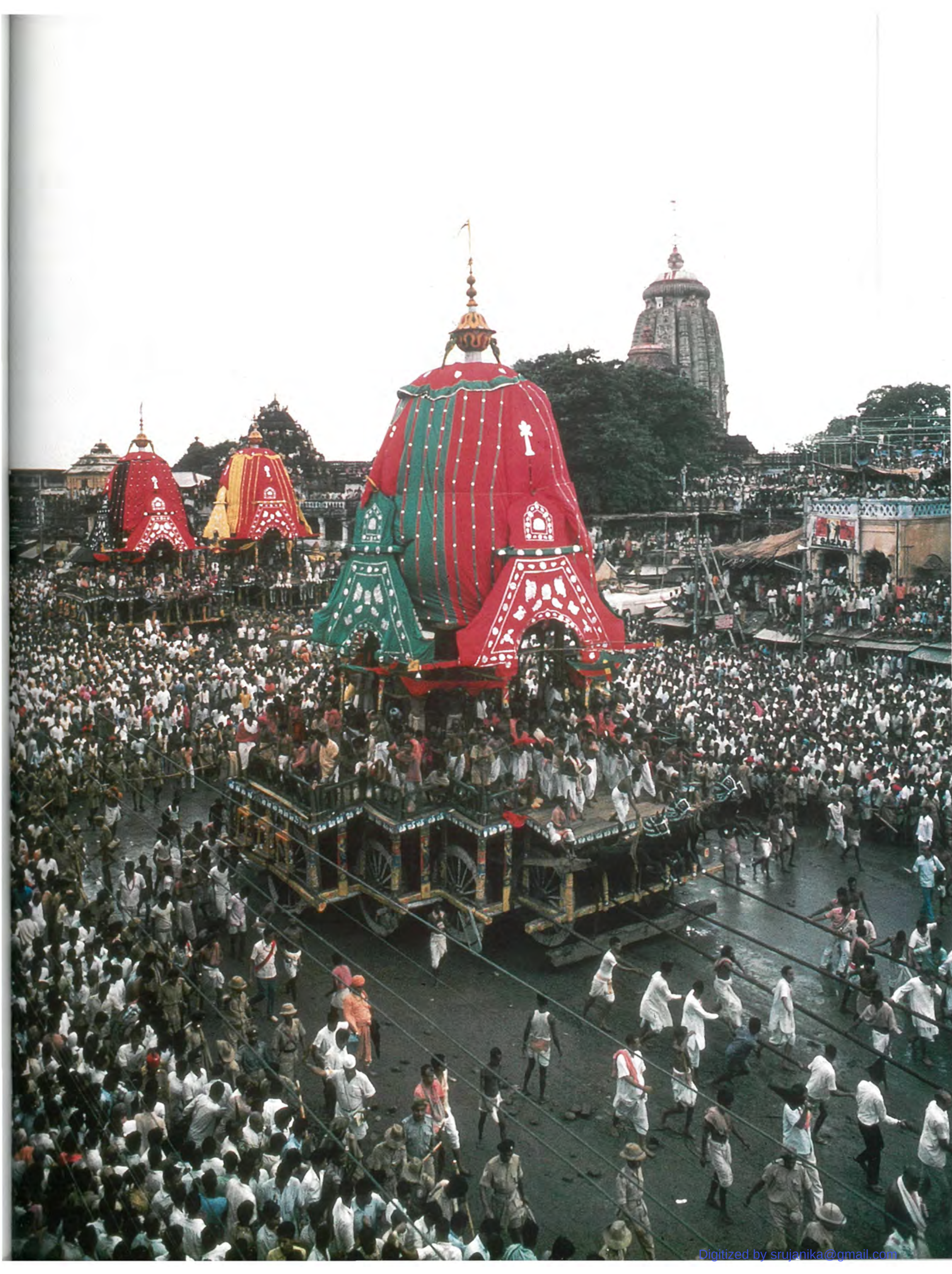


Fig. 20 The Jagannatha icon before being dressed in the elephant costume, *hati vesa* in Chikitigada

> Fig. 21 The great Jagannatha *ratha* procession in Puri, c. 1977



The Production of *Anasara Pati* Triptychs by the *Citrakara* Painters in Puri

Quite a number of traditional *citrakara* painter families live in Puri and in surrounding villages. Out of these, three families *(bada)* were traditionally assigned[31] the painting service *(citrakara seva)* for the Jagannatha temple.[32] This honorific task was and still is conferred to the senior-most craftsmen of these lines [33] by the Raja of Puri, or rather by his adviser, the Rajaguru on behalf of the king. Following his order, a specific ceremony *(sadhi bandha)* takes place, in which the appointed person *(sevaka)* is "tied with a sari" to the service of Lord Jagannatha. He receives from the temple authorities a specific red and yellow tie-dyed textile[34] that can be worn as shoulder cloth or turban[35] at official functions.

This temple-service of painters[36] was and still is hereditary. An appointed artist formerly received land grants and an annual remuneration. But what always counted more is the fact that the masters employed by the temple authorities and working for Lord Jagannatha enjoy high status in their own community and respect in the Puri town society.[37] For this reason they annually execute the production of *anasara patis* with care and precision as their personal service *(seva)* to the deity, even though the actual financial compensation they receive is negligible.

Two weeks before the bathing festival[38] *(snana purnima)* that is celebrated annually at all Jagannatha temples, the temple authorities send a note to the *citrakaras*, asking



Fig. 22 Hati Maharana painting Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari *anasara pati* in Puri, 1978



Fig. 23 Hati Maharana painting Balabhadra/Ananta *pati* in Puri, 1978



Fig. 24 The Jagannatha/Narayana *pati* painted in Narayana Maharana workshop in Puri, 1978



Fig. 25 Worshipping Jagannath/Narayana in the painter's house in Puri, 1978



Fig. 25A Lady worshipping Jagannath/Narayana in the painter's house, 1978



Fig. 26 Painting the Jagannatha/Narayana *pati* at Narayana Maharana's workshop in Puri, 2002



Fig. 27 Harihara Maharana and his son Ananta working on behalf of Budha Maharana in Puri, 2002




Fig. 28/28A Harihara's colleagues preparing Balabhadra/Ananta *pati* and Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari *pati* in Puri, 2006

them to prepare the *anasara patis* and to deliver them to the temple. For this each painter is given from the temple store new white cotton cloth that today is industrially produced, and (in 1980) six rupees cash (then the price of about three cups of tea!) to buy pigments from the local market.

With the commencement of the temple-service, the routine life of the painters changes. In their homes, the utmost cleanliness has now to be observed. The master himself cooks with his wife the tamarind gum and the lumps of chalk for priming the textile grounding. It is traditionally the work of the painter's wife to prepare conch-shell white as well as lampsoot black, and she can also help her husband in spreading the cloth and gluing several layers of textile together. The entire family of the *anasara* painters spends this period in restraint – sleeping on the bare ground, abstaining from sex and intoxicating drinks as well as from eating meat, garlic and onions – because it is believed that the gods and the goddess have arrived in the painters' houses.[39]

It is the master himself who first cuts the prepared textile canvas to size. The prescribed measurements for the *anasara pati* are traditionally indicated on the wall of his workshop room; possibly these marks are also a sign of his status as a master painter. He also plans the layout of the icon by making a preliminary drawing on the cloth[40] and he remains responsible for the execution of the painting assigned to him, but he can be helped by his male family members and caste-friends to fill in colours and to do ornamental work.

Only "traditional" pigments are to be used for these ritual pictures. "Industrial paints" are considered "foreign" by the temple authorities and thereby "unclean". Bundgaard[41] reports that one painter even once said to her: "If we paint



Fig. 29 Harihara Maharana with colleagues painting Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari *pati* in Puri, 2006

with oil paints, Shiva will not sit on the bull due to the bad smell." But not all purchasers of pictures are that fussy: in Harihara Maharana's workshop, cast metal images of the triad, which are painted with varnish colours, are sold regularly.

The pigments are as a rule not mixed, and the final pictures are – if used ritualistically – not shellaced, most probably because lac is produced by insects and thus considered "unclean".

The great master painter Narayana Maharana, the adopted son of Rama Maharana, conceives the Jagannatha/Narayana *anasara pati* in Puri today and supervises the work and rituals in his house (see fig. 26). He was assigned this job by the temple authorities several decades ago (c. 1968) when he was still a young man (see fig. 30).[42] He took over this work from his father.[43] A meeting with him took place in 1992 in his two-roomed house at the back of the Jagannatha temple in Puri. The master was then in his sixties and in great distress: his eldest son had recently died, drowned in the Narendra tank, and he had withdrawn somewhat from the world, thinking that this heavy blow was ordained by Lord Jagannatha,[44] whose painting he was doing. Narayana then lived in utter poverty, but he expressed the view that he considered this a blessing that helped him on his spiritual path.

Narayana painted the *pata* painting for Jagannatha on the floor in the front room of his home. On a wall the proper measurements of the actual size for the cloth are marked down. He drew the outline of the figure in all detail. We are not aware whether this was done freehand or with the help of a stencil. The filling-in of colours and even drawing the ornaments and flower motifs occurred in the company of sev-

eral helpers (see fig. 26). Only the final work – painting the eyes – was reserved for the master (see fig. 34).

The painter Narayana said that the remuneration[45] he received from the temple authorities for producing the Jagannatha/Narayana *pati* was a meagre sum, not enough even to meet the costs of material and wages. It was completely insufficient, considering that it was customary that he invite his helpers and all his family members to his house and treat them to a feast on the day the iconic figure was given the eyes. Nevertheless, he considered the assignment to paint this *pati* a pure service *(seva)* and therefore a blessing of the Lord Jagannatha, a prestigious and spiritually rewarding job, which his forefathers had done before him.

The painter Hati Maharana, son of Krushna Maharana of the Badabada *citrakara* sept, was from c. 1970 till his death the master *(hakim)* in charge of producing the image of Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari in Puri. He was 65 years of age when an interview with him took place in 1978. He then pointed out that he needed about two weeks[46] to paint (two) *patis*. During that period he and his helpers ate only vegetarian food in the afternoon, did not drink anything intoxicating and abstained from sexual relations. He said that he received the textiles as base material for the canvases from the temple, and in addition a meagre sum of twice six rupees for this extraordinary and time-consuming work.

Hati Maharana died in 1988 and his son, the trained painter Budha Maharana, took over his prestigious position as *hakim* for the Balabhadra/Ananta and the Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari[47] *pati* production. Since Budha Maharana is extremely successful in producing props for Oriya television



Fig. 30 Narayana Maharana in his workshop in Puri, 1978



Fig. 31 Yogindra Mahapatra painting Balabhadra/Ananta *pati* in Dharakote, 1998



Fig. 32 Murali Mahapatra preparing the three *anasara patis* in Chikitigada, 2000

shows and is well established as an art director for films of all kinds, he requested that his uncle Harihara Maharana act unofficially as his substitute. Harihara Maharana stated (2008, when he was c. 65 years of age): "I should have taken over the *seva* from Hati Maharana when he died, but since I was the son of our father's second wife, my claim to be announced *hakim* was set aside." When we asked him about some minor iconographic change that we had noticed (i.e. Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari's palms being shown with fingernails) he indicated, "that this was Budha Maharana's negligence".

At all Jagannatha temples of South Orissa – it may be noted in passing – only one *citrakara* master is appointed by the local temple authorities to produce the three *anasara patis* annually. In the year 2000, for instance, the painter Murali Mahapatra of Chikitigada interrupted his preparation of a large *osakothi* canvas[48] (see fig. 32), when he was requested to produce the paintings required for the local Jagannatha temple. He worked on the floor inside his house and painted them simultaneously. First he prepared three canvases of the same size, then sketched freehand the outlines of the images and gave them a first coat of paint filling

in the background and body colours. In a second round he drew the outlines in black, before doing the final ornamentation and finally inserting the eyes. Only at the end were the bamboo strips stitched to the back of the paintings. Similarly, the painter Yogindra Mahapatra in Dharakote prepares annually the *anasara* triptych for the local Jagannatha temple (see fig. 31). He does this work on the veranda of his house.

The evening before an *anasara pati* is fetched by the temple authorities, it is hung by the painter on his workshop wall in the same corner where the family-owned *pata* painting of a single Jagannatha is fixed (see figs. 34, 39). Only now are the pupils of the eyes are inserted by the master himself.[49] And then the painted icon is worshipped with a short *puja* by a family brahmin with a burning oil lamp (see fig. 35). The painter's wife then leads the married ladies of her circle to the new picture of the deity, and all family members join together to celebrate the fulfilment of the painted work (see fig. 25, 25A). They garland the icon with a string of lotus buds, light incense sticks, offer fruits (see figs. 36–38) and a textile, wave a lamp and bow down. Finally, the officiating Brahmin is thanked.

The same evening[50] the picture is brought to the temple. A delegation of temple servants arrives at the *citrakara*'s house, carrying with them a parasol *(chatri)*, a gong *(ghanta)* and a pipe *(kahali)*. They also bring as temple offering a basket with consecrated food *(prasad)* that is handed over to the painter, who now takes down the *anasara* picture from the wall, rolls it and proceeds – along with the group – to the Jagannatha temple, carrying his painting on his shoulder (see figs. 33, 40–42). While the piper blows and the gong is sounded,[51] the party moves through the lanes to the temple, the painter with his picture of the deity walking under the umbrella.[52]

31 The three families – along with their workshops – are known as (1) Badabada (i.e. who paints Balabhadra/Ananta), (2) Majhibada (who paints Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari) and (3) Jagannathabada (who paints Narayana/Jagannatha).

32 For the ranking of *citrakaras* in thé service system, see Das, 1982, 18ff.

33 According to Das, 1982, 45, records of 1885 show that at that time the son and the two nephews of the *citrakara* Jagannatha Maharana were ordered to perform the *sadhi bandha* ceremony, "that they perform *citrakara seva* of *anasara*, *jaya-vijaya* and *ratha* etc.".

34 These textiles, tie-dyed in the weft-ikat technique, contain verses of the *Gitagovinda* song by Jayadeva, sacred to Jagannatha, see Fischer–Pathy, 1982, repr. 1995, 121–133.

35 We don't find these red and yellow cloths as status symbols depicted in the c. 1822 watercolours of the *Jagannatha yatra*, kept in the Victoria and Albert Museum. No historic information is available for this *sadhi bandhi* custom.

36 According to Das, 1982, 31, the Records of Rights of the Puri temple mentions that for 1955 Rama Maharana was responsible for painting Jagannatha, Krishna (Krushna) Maharana for Balabhadra and one Raghu Das for Subhadra. All three painters lived in the Kundhaibenta Sahi in Puri.
Hati Maharana succeeded his father Krushna in 1970 and Narayana his father Rama in 1968. Raghu Das became insane and his work was also given to Hati Maharana.

37 Bundgaard, 1999, 106 mentions that these *citrakaras* undertake the production of these non-commercial pictures because of their religious significance: temple-service carries an entitlement to firewood from the temple kitchen at the time when the *sevaka*'s corpse is cremated.

38 Das, 1982, 45, mentions as the proper date for this, the *Akshyaya tritiya* festival day, the day when the boat ride ceremony *(candan yatra)* begins.

39 Painting is done (nowadays) at the *citrakara*'s home or workshop – not in a distinct "place called *anasara gruha*" as mentioned by Mohanty, 1980, 6. Women can participate in preparatory work, but should not be present when the painting is in progress, Das, 1982, 34.

40 Das, 1982, 143, publishes some highly important sketches of *anasara patis* with indications of proportions for the Jagannatha/Narayana depiction.

41 Bundgaard, 1999, 97.

42 Mohanty, 1980, pl. 4, shows this master painter as a youngster working on a Jagannatha/Narayana *pati*.

43 Exact dates are difficult to verify. Narayana had an older brother, Fakira, who died in 1955 at the age of 25. His father Rama died in 1965 at the age of 62. His grandfather's name was Ananda Maharana, and he died in 1935 at the age of 65. Narayana himself (in 1998) had one son Debatta then aged 20.

44 Narayana's wife Sailamani informed us (in 1998) that her husband's elder brother Fakira was earlier appointed *hakim*. But when he also painted the *anasara pati* of Subadhra/Bhubaneswari, she said, " he grabbed the *seva* of the other *citrakara* family, he died and his entire family soon after perished".

45 It is a costly enterprise for the painters, but they are rewarded not only in cash but in addition in kind, i.e. with *mahaprasad* sweets from the Jagannatha temple which they can distribute, see Bundgaard, 1999, 101.

46 It is an exaggeration when Puri painters claim that "for eight days and nights, three to four painters work meticulously on the two figures for more than 16 hours a day", Bundgaard, 1999, 103.

47 The Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari *pati* was traditionally painted by the *hakims* of the Majhibada sept, i.e. last by Sridhara Mahapatra of Dolamandapa sahi in Puri. He gave up his *seva* and requested Budha Maharana to also paint Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari. Since then, this picture is painted by Budha, or rather his uncle Harihara. Budha has one son, Chandan Maharana, who collaborates with his father on film productions, as does Harihara's eldest son Damodar.

48 This is visible at the upper left corner of the photograph. For *osakothi* murals and mobile rolled-up paintings used there temporarily see Fischer–Pathy, 1996, 107, 139.

49 *Anasara pati* Triptych 5 (see figs. 63, 64) was photographed before consecration and therefore shows a white dot in the centre of the pupil of the eyes.

50 Das, 1982, 38, describes the home rituals similarly, but mentions in addition that the pictures are taken to the temple only the following morning.

51 See Fischer–Pathy, 1980, fig. 491. Today a *mardala* (drum) player is often included in this group of temple musicians.

52 Obviously, the honour is given to the icon, not to the master painter, who is considered in Puri a *sudra* of rather low rank, see Das, 1982, 18ff.



Fig. 33 Procession led by the drummer with Budha Maharana carrying the *anasara patas*, Puri 2011



Fig. 34 Painting the eyes of Jagannath/Narayana, Puri 2002



Fig. 35 Priest worshipping the *anasara pati* of Jagannatha/Narayana in the painter's house, Puri 2002



Fig. 36 *Anasara pati* of Balabhadra/Ananta in Budha Maharana's house, Puri, 2011



Fig. 37 Subadhra/Bhuvaneshwari worshipped in the house of Budha Maharana, Puri 2011



Fig. 38 *Anasara pati* of Jagannath/Narayana in Narayana Maharana's workshop, Puri 2011



Fig. 39 The *anasara pati* in the workshop of Narayana Maharana in Puri, 2011



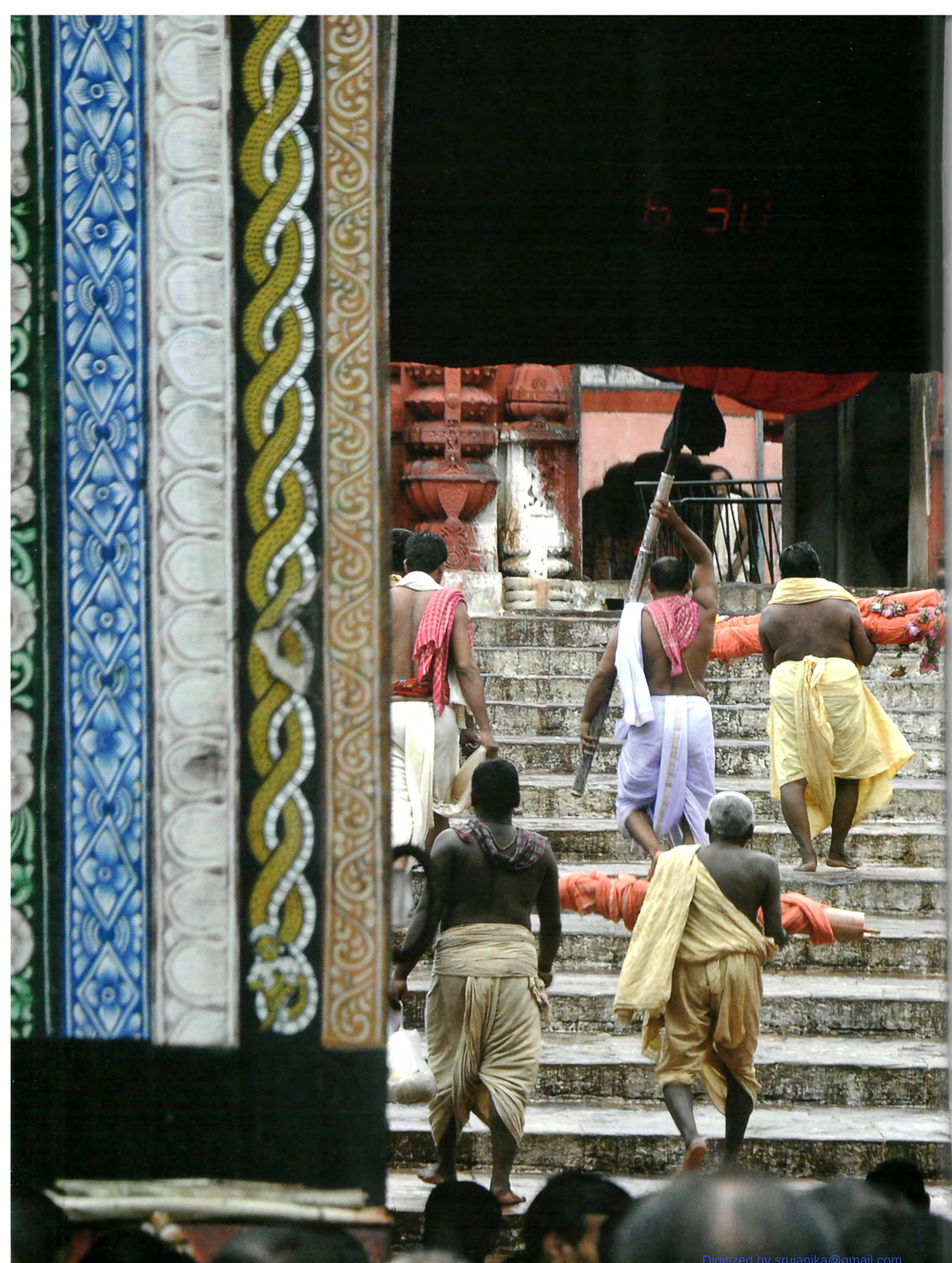
Fig. 40 Narayana Maharana is taking the Jagannatha/Narayana picture out of his house, Puri 2011





< Fig. 41 Under an umbrella, the *anasara pati* is carried to the Jagannatha temple in Puri, 2011

Fig. 42 The procession approaching the Jagannatha temple in Puri, 2011


6 30

The Worship of Painted Substitute Icons, the *Anasara Pati* Triptychs

When the *anasara* paintings have reached the Jagannatha temple (see fig. 43), they are hung in the sanctum or in the front porch on a bamboo partition in the order of Balabhadra, Subhadra and Jagannatha (from left to right, i.e. in the same sequence as an entering devotee would face the wooden icons in the sanctum). This task is performed by another temple servant *(sevaka)*, who is a tailor *(darzi)* by caste. The paintings are now given a symbolic bath and are then consecrated. The life of the wooden icons *(prana)* is ritually transferred onto the pictures. With the chanting of the appropriate *mantras*[53] life is infused into the painted deities. From now on for the following two weeks, these *anasara patis* are treated as the main icons of the Jagannatha temple and are worshipped with all the offerings ordained in the temple conventions for the Jagannatha triad.

During this period,[54] when the wooden icons are considered ill, they are given only fruit *(balabhoga)*, medicinal herbs *(pathi)* and liquids *(pacana)* for the effects of their fever. Actually a brass mirror on a plate is placed on the floor in front of the paintings, and the reflections of the images are bathed. The painted deities are also costumed and these decorations are changed throughout the day as is customary for the wooden icons. Appropriately coloured textiles and flower garlands are fixed around and over the pictures on the bamboo screen partition. Priest and devotees treat the three deities depicted on the paintings as the representations of the divine triad,[55] who are considered severely ill and in need of medical attention for two weeks.

Access to the sanctum of the Jagannatha temple in Puri is severely restricted and photography forbidden. There



< Fig. 43 The three *anasara patis* are taken to the sanctum of the Jagannatha temple in Puri, 2011

Fig. 44 *Anasara*-triptych installed in the Jagannatha temple of Dharakote, 1998



Fig. 45 *Shankhalabhi pati* by an unknown painter of Puri, possibly late 19th century (London)

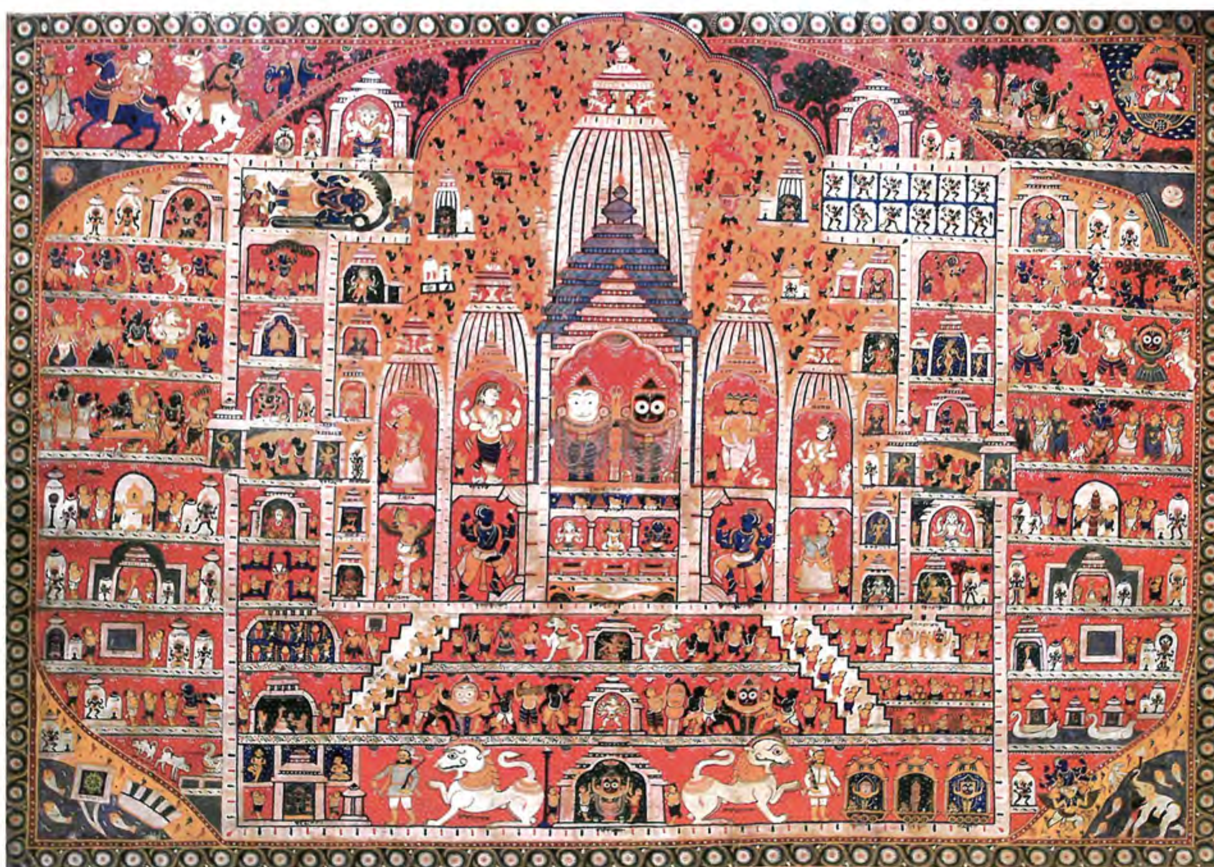


Fig. 46 *Shankhalabhi pata* by an unknown painter of Puri, c. 1925/50 (Ahmedabad)



Fig. 45a Detail of the sanctum with the *anasara* chamber (c. 1875/1900)

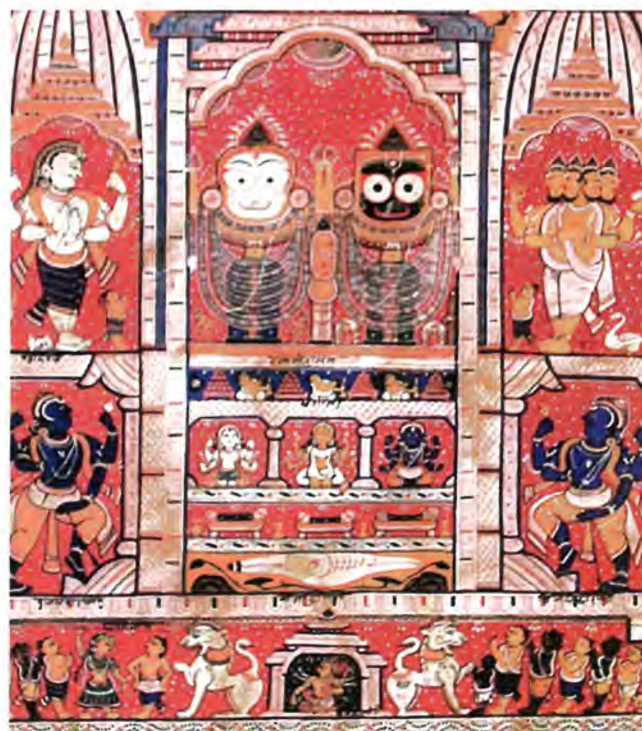


Fig. 46a Detail of the sanctum with the *anasara* chamber (c. 1925/50)

exists, however, a fascinating group of paintings by the local *citrakara* painters of the sacred Jagannatha complex (see fig. 45, 46), "showing a conceptualised realisation of the temple, its images and the whole of sacred Puri with indications of both spatial and divine iconography" (as remarked by Losty, 2007, 79ff). In this kind of geographical map, the sacred site of Puri often appears in the form of a *shankha* or conch. *Shankhalabhi patas* of some age exist in museums of London, Copenhagen (see Fischer–Pathy, 2001, pl. 5) and Paris. To this group can be added one – previously in a French collection – that has turned up in London recently (see Jain, 2011, 182ff), and shares an otherwise not shown but highly important detail with the early 20th-century Puri temple depiction, collected by B.C. Mohanty for the Calico Museum in Ahmedabad in 1974: here, in the core of the pictures, in the sanctum of the Puri temple, we see the triad enthroned on the *ratna vedi* platform (fig. 45a, 46a). Below their seat three priests are shown along with three plates of *mahaprasad* offering. Another step lower, in a pillared room, we find the three deities depicted as Narayana (placed directly under Jagannatha's icon), Bhuvaneshvari (under Subhadra) and Ananta (under Balabhadra). Since these three icons assume the forms of the two gods and the goddess, three cots *(palanka)* are placed at their feet so that they can ritually take rest. A large conch will serve the deities to take a bath.[56]

As mentioned above, the situation of *anasara patis* in the Jagannatha temple in Puri can't be documented visually. In 1998, Dinanath Pathy was, however, allowed during the *anasara* period to enter the shrines of the Jagannatha temples of Dharakote and Kulada (both in Ganjam District, South Orissa), and he was permitted there to photograph the *anasara* pictures in the front porch adjoining the sanctum.

In Dharakote (see fig. 44), the wooden icons were repainted in the inner chamber of the Jagannatha temple *(rekha deul)* itself, i.e. they were not temporarily removed from their stone pedestals. The sanctum was closed from public view by a curtain of white cloth. In front of this partition the wooden cot that normally serves the deities in the night as a bed for sleeping was shifted. It was covered with a red cloth. The small brass icons *(vije pratima)* that belong to the triad were placed on three stands *(khatuli)* made from brass or painted wood. Several old orange-coloured saris were hung over a horizontal string to serve as their backdrops. Above them, and partly covered by them, the three *anasara patis* were fixed to a second rope. The three paintings as well as the small brass statues were garlanded with strung white flowers.

At the Jagannatha temple of Kulada near Bhanjanagar (fig. 47), the *anasara patis* were installed in front of the sanctum near the Garuda pillar *(garuda bakhara)* in a space worshippers are allowed to enter. The sanctum sanctorum remained open, but the medium-sized wooden icons were removed for repainting and their cylindrical stone bases remained empty. On both sides of the entrance to the shrine, poles are inserted into the ground to allow for a railing, which prevents the devotees from entering the sacred space. Here, two orange-red saris were strung horizontally with a rope to which the three *anasara patis* were then attached. They were



Fig. 47 *Anasara pati* triptych and Dadivamana *pati* installed in the Jagannatha temple in Kulada, 1998



Fig. 47a *Anasara pati* triptych and Dadivamana *pati* in Kulada, 1998

joined by a fourth picture, the image representing Dadhivamana, the single Jagannatha icon.[57] But only the three *anasara patis* seemed to be worshipped, because no white flower garland had been placed around the fourth painting. Separated by another red backdrop – a torn silken cloth – and placed directly on the temple floor, were four trays with the small brass icons. All the ritualistic implements were also scattered on the ground, which lent proof to the fact that the ceremonies[58] had been performed for the deities represented by the pictures and the brass statues.

Only members of the the Daitapati (Datamahapatra) families are authorized to touch and paint the wooden Jagannatha icons in Puri.[59] When their painting of the wooden icons is finished and the icons are placed again on the stone pedestal, the eye (opening) ceremony *(netra utsava)* is performed. From now on, the wooden images are again ready to be seen *(darshan)* by the devotees. This moment is known as "new youth" *(navayouvana)*. Symbolically, life *(prana)* is exchanged again from the *anasara pati* to the respective wooden icon.

The pictures are then removed from the partition wall that is now pulled down. The *anasara patis* are rolled together and handed over to the storekeeper *(mekapa)* of the Jagannatha temple. In former times they might have been immersed in a tank, but now they are given as gifts to important devotees or influential persons such as the heads *(mahants)* of religious establishments *(mathas)*. There they are hung in a shrine along with other pictures (see fig. 49). Often they also remain with the priests, who in the following year may want to compare their painter's new versions with the old ones (see fig. 48).

53 "Chanting *Narasimha mantra* is marked as the speciality during the period", Ray, 1998, 143. Narasimha is the guardian of the deity and during Jagannatha's illness, "the main worship is offered to Narasimha and the prescribed meditations are focused on him", Eschmann-Kulke-Tripathi, 1978, 113.

54 The *anasara* period lasts from the full moon of *Jyestha* till the new moon night of *Ashada*.

55 This worship is, however, considered a secret one *(gupta puja)*: "According to *Shastracara*, any sort of pomp and ceremony which includes singing, dancing, drumming and chanting *Puranas* are banned ... There are fifteen rules to follow," Ray, 1998, 143.

56 It is of iconographic interest and of historic importance that in the upper side chapels and porches we find at Jagannatha's left Brahma and Narada, to Balabhadra's right Shiva and a raja, whereas the lower chambers are guarded by four-armed Jaya and Vijaya, Garuda on the pillar appears and is worshipped by another raja who is dressed identically to the upper one. It may also be noted that Jagannatha is here represented in the appearance or costume *(vesha)* of Raghunatha: As Rama he holds a bow while one of his four arms encircles his wife Sita sitting to his left. Hanuman appears holding his left foot.

57 See p. 93.

58 Devotees can observe this ritual, but these ceremonies are generally not attended.

59 Their service consists of painting the three icons annually and in retouching them each week on Wednesdays. In addition, they have to carve new wooden icons every twelve years.



Fig. 48 Temple authorities comparing *anasara patis* from the previous year with new ones in Dengapadara, 1998



Fig. 49 Jagannatha/Narayana *pati* in the Caitanya *matha* of Surangi, 1980



Fig. 50 Small-scale versions of single Jagannatha/Patitapavana *patis* in Puri, 2011

Part II

The Documented *Anasara Pati* Triptychs from Orissa

We know of six *anasara pati* sets or fragments thereof produced from Puri workshops for the Jagannatha temple at different periods of time:

1.
The "Calico Museum triptych of 1974"
Published by B.C. Mohanty (1980, pls. 1–3), this seems to have been painted some time shortly before his fieldwork in 1974/75. It should therefore be dated c. 1974[60] and was painted by the two Puri *hakims* and their workshops (see fig. 30). Since the eyes of the deities are closed, it is likely that they had already been worshipped before they were acquired for the museum (see fig. 51–53).

2.
The "Government of Orissa triptych of 1978"
This is recorded only by photographs, taken by an unknown photographer on behalf of the Department of Information and Public Relations, Government of Orissa. The paintings were photographed when they were taken from the painters' homes, shortly before the car festival took place in 1978 (see fig. 22–25).[61] Their whereabouts are unknown (see fig. 54–56).

3.
The "Zurich triptych of 1990"
This was painted in Puri by the *hakim* Narayana Maharana and the painter Harihara Maharana, and was used in the Jagannatha temple in 1990. After its ritualistic use, an influential priest gave the triptych to a relative. The relative sold it in Bhubaneswar in 1992 to a teaching scholar, who in turn gave it to one of the authors.[62] Since this set was the only one physically available for scrutiny, we use it here as our major source of reference (see fig. 57–59).


Fig. 51


Fig. 52


Fig. 53


Fig. 54


Fig. 55


Fig. 56


Fig. 57


Fig. 58


Fig. 59

4.

The "Puri *matha* triptych of 1998"

This was photographed in Puri in 2000, where it was found hanging on a wall of one of the religious establishments. Textiles were fixed at the waist of the images, as is often the case with icons in shrines. The flaking on the torsos of the painted icons indicates that they had been worshipped previously (see fig. 60–62).

5.

A "Puri triptych of 2001"

Only the paintings for Jagannatha / Narayana and Subhadra / Bhuvaneshvari were photographed with a rather narrow frame by Soubhagya Pathy in the Puri painters' workshops before they were taken to the Jagannatha temple in Puri in 2001 (see fig. 63, 64).

6.

The "Puri triptych of 2009"

This was photographed during its preparation at the workshops of Narayana Maharana and Budha Maharana. The photographs show Harihara Maharana and his colleagues at work. These *anasara* pictures were then not yet consecrated in the Jagannatha temple, and therefore there is still a white dot in the centre of the eye, which will be closed by the painters in the final ritual in their homes (see fig. 65–67).


Fig. 60


Fig. 61


Fig. 62


Fig. 63


Fig. 64


Fig. 65


Fig. 66


Fig. 67

In addition to these pictures from Puri workshops, there are fourteen *anasara* triptychs or parts thereof from other workshops available for discussion. From the nearby Cuttack District are the following two sets:

7A
The "Manpur triptych A of 1900/1925"

The fragments of two paintings of Jagannatha/Narayana and Balabhadra/Ananta are in the possession of the *citrakara* master Nityananda Mahapatra in the village of Manpur near Tigiria (in Cuttack District). The owner is of the opinion that they were produced by his grandfather and are supposedly "a hundred years old". A dating in the first quarter of the 20th century is probably justified (see fig. 68, 69).

7B
The "Manpur triptych B of 2000"

This *anasara* triptych was produced by the 52-year-old Nakula Chandra Maharana for the local Jagannatha temple in 2000, but shown to us only in 2010. Nakula Chandra said that he had copied the pictures from the old paintings inherited from his father Nityananda Mahapatra. The three paintings are of the same size, measuring 41.5×49 cm and are very close to the old pictures (see fig. 70–72).

These paintings are discussed in detail on pages 74–75.



Fig. 68



Fig. 69



Fig. 70



Fig. 71



Fig. 72

From South Orissa are the following triptychs. They are discussed in detail on pages 76–91 and reproduced in larger scale.

8.
The "Berhampur triptych of c. 1970"

Here, the three icons are painted on a single canvas. The picture was found in the *citrakara* workshop in Ainabandha Street of Berhampur in 1986 (see fig. 73). The painters stated that, "it was taken back from the local Jagannatha temple about 15 years ago, when we had to paint a new version, and it has been kept in our workshop since then".

9.
The "Digapahandi triptych by Satrughna Mahapatra of c. 1940"

This much-damaged set was obtained from the traditional painters' workshop in Digapahandi (Ganjam District). It is said to have been painted by Satrughna Mahapatra, the grandfather of the contemporary workshop master Lakshmikanta Mahapatra. Shatrughna died in 1958 at the age of 80 (see fig. 74–76).

10.
The "Digapahandi triptych by Lakshmikanta Mahapatra of c. 1996"

Two *anasara patis* (i.e. Jagannatha / Narayana and Subhadra / Bhuvaneshvari) were purchased from the painter Lakshmikanta Mahapatra, then aged 32 years, in his workshop in Digapahandi in 1996. He had prepared them for the local Jagannatha temple authorities the same year (see fig. 77, 78). The icon picture of Jagannatha / Narayana is missing.

11.
The "Digapahandi triptych by Radhagovinda Mahapatra of c. 1996"

The set was photographed in the Jagannatha temple of Dengapadara near Digapahandi in 1996, and was said to be painted by Radhagovinda Mahapatra, who was about 50 years of age at that time. He is the uncle of Lakshmikanta Mahapatra mentioned above and runs his own workshop in Digapahandi (see fig. 79–81).



Fig. 73


Fig. 74


Fig. 75


Fig. 76


Fig. 77


Fig. 78


Fig. 79


Fig. 80


Fig. 81

12.
The "Rumagada triptych of c. 1998"
The set was photographed in the workshop of a painter's family in the village of Rumagada near Mathura (Ganjam District) in 1998, where a Jagannatha temple had been erected in recent times (see fig. 82–84).

13.
The "Dharakote triptych by Yogindra Mahapatra of c. 1983"
The much flaked and damaged pictures of Jagannatha/Narayana and Balabhadra/Ananta were photographed in the workshop of Yogindra Mahapatra in 1998. The painter stated that he had produced them "15 years earlier" for the use of the local Jagannatha temple and had taken them back after the *anasara* period was over. The damaged foreheads and crowns of the icons show that they had once been worshipped (see fig. 85, 86).

14.
The "Dharakote triptych by Yogindra Mahapatra of 1998"
This set was photographed in Yogindra Mahapatra's workshop just before it was taken to the local Jagannatha temple of Dharakote for worship in 1998 (see fig. 44). At this time, the painter was c. 52 years old (see fig. 87–89).

15.
The "Barapalligada triptych by Khali Mahapatra of c. 1998"
These three paintings, prepared by the *citrakara* painter of Barapalligada, were photographed in the Jagannatha temple at Kulada near Bhanjanagar (Ganjam District) during the *anasara* period of 1998. In the photographs (see fig. 47) they are partly covered by a red silken cloth, which served as a backdrop to the procession icons (*vije pratima*) in the foreground. A fourth painting is visible on the right: the image of Dadhivamana, the single Jagannatha, which was included here in the *anasara* worship (see fig. 90–92).


Fig. 82


Fig. 83


Fig. 84


Fig. 85


Fig. 86

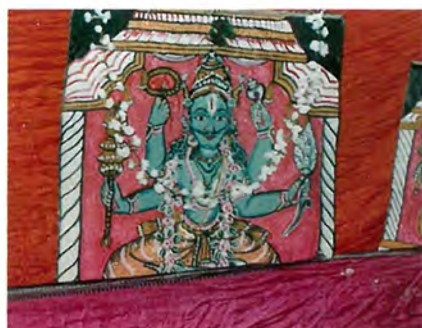

Fig. 87


Fig. 88


Fig. 89


Fig. 90


Fig. 91


Fig. 92

16.
The "Paralakhemandi triptych by Prakash Chandra Mahapatra of c. 1996"

These three *anasara patis* were photographed and collected at the workshop of the locally well-known master painter Prakash Chandra Mahapatra in 1996. He had just prepared them for the main Jagannatha temple of Paralakhemandi (South Orissa), but was ready to part with the set and to paint another for his local clients (see fig. 93–95).

17.
A "cloth painting mounted on a wooden board by Prakash Chandra Mahapatra of c. 1990"

It was found in the workshop of Prakash Chandra Mahapatra in Paralakemandi in 2000, but its painter claimed that he had painted it about ten years earlier. It is likely that the picture was worshipped in a Jagannatha temple in his vicinity and had come back into the painter's hands when a replacement was ordered (see fig. 96).



Fig. 93



Fig. 94



Fig. 95



Fig. 96

18.

The "Jayapur triptych of c. 1950"

This set, once in the collection of Stuart Cary Welch and on loan at the Arthur M. Sackler Museum in Cambridge, Mass.,[63] is likely to be the product of a senior painter of a *citrakara* workshop in Jayapur. It may date to c. 1950. No details of its provenance are recorded (see fig. 97–99).

19.

The "Jayapur triptych by Paikarai Mahapatra of c. 1978"

This set was purchased by us at the painter's workshop in 1978, where it had been kept for sale. It wasn't made for a specific local Jagannatha temple in the vicinity of Jayapur in the year of acquisition and is now in a private collection (see fig. 100–102).



Fig. 97



Fig. 98

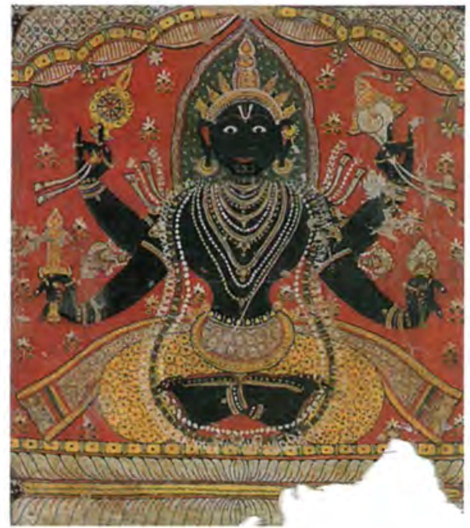


Fig. 99



Fig. 100



Fig. 101



Fig. 102

In addition, there exist contemporary or commercial depictions of the Jagannatha triad in the *anasara* appearance on a single piece of cloth. The Puri painters produce such pictures for the use of newly constructed Jagannatha temples in peripheral towns in Orissa and even outside the state, when they receive such orders. This might be a recent phenomenon. Such an order is normally placed with the Puri-based *citrakaras*, because the temple authorities of new temples are familiar with only these workshops and trust their iconographic and ritualistic correctness.

We were informed that especially the workshop of Budha Maharana (which is manned by his uncle Harihara Maharana) has produced for about the last two decades such single-canvas triptychs in quantity throughout the year. This financially rewarding work is done especially in the lean months with fewer obligations to the Jagannatha temple. To make such "mass production" feasible, Harihara Maharana uses a model drawing for tracing, which is then worked out by his son and his assistants. Such paintings made by him and his crew are also sold in the temple store to devotees. One such picture is on the cover of a book on Puri, published in 1988.[64] An unfinished commercial *anasara* painting from Harihara Maharana's workshop in Puri of 2009 is reproduced here (see fig. 103).

Such financially viable transactions have lately prompted the instructors at the State Handicraft Training Centre at Bhubaneshwar to include *"anasara patis"* in their curriculum. These teachers come mainly from *citrakara* families based in Puri and nearby Raghurajpur, and are aware of what goes on in their hometowns as well as what sells at the State Emporia, especially to tourists.

Three such trainee works have been acquired for study (see fig. 104–106): although the young painters follow the basic pattern and repeat the standard iconography, they like to bring in special effects and produce something "of their own". Therefore, they give their colour shades and vary the ornamentation. But they also appeal to the buyers' aesthetics, for instance by allowing the hair of the goddess to flow like that of a Bollywood actress. Still more interesting is to see that on all these contemporary pictures Balabhadra/Ananta holds a trident *(trishula)* and a small drum *(damaru)* in his hands, i.e. standard emblems of Shiva instead of those of Vishnu. Do the young painters know of the "historic connection" in Orissa of Balabhadra with Shiva? Do their instructors tell them about these trendy art-historical questions and speculations? Or is it simply a mistake, because both gods – Shiva and Balarama – are white-skinned and like intoxicating drinks?



Fig. 103 Unfinished commercial *anasara* triptych by Harihara Maharana in Puri, 2008



Fig. 104

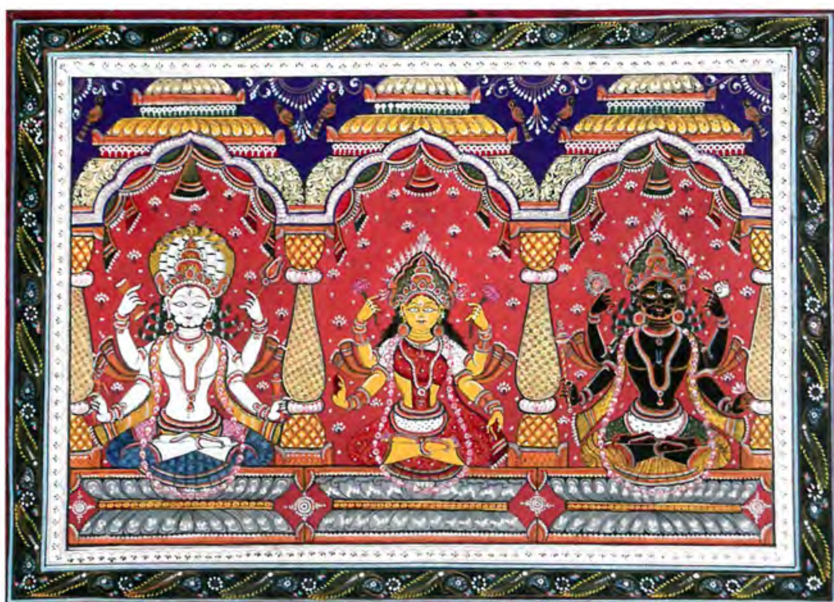
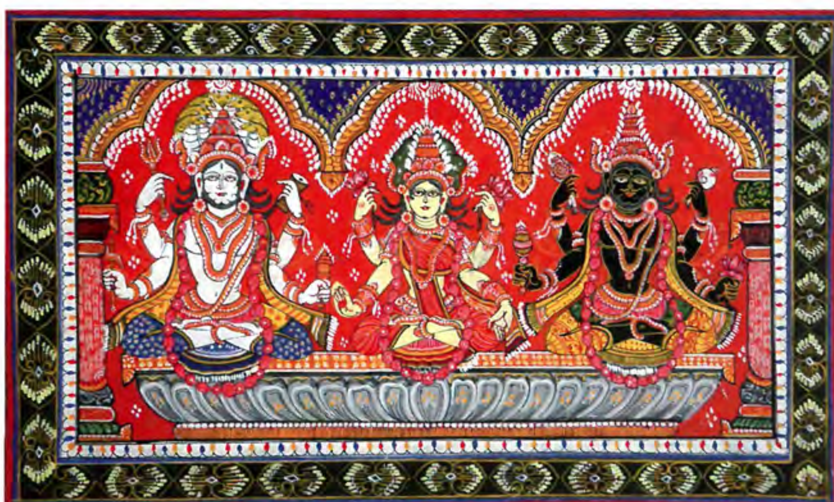


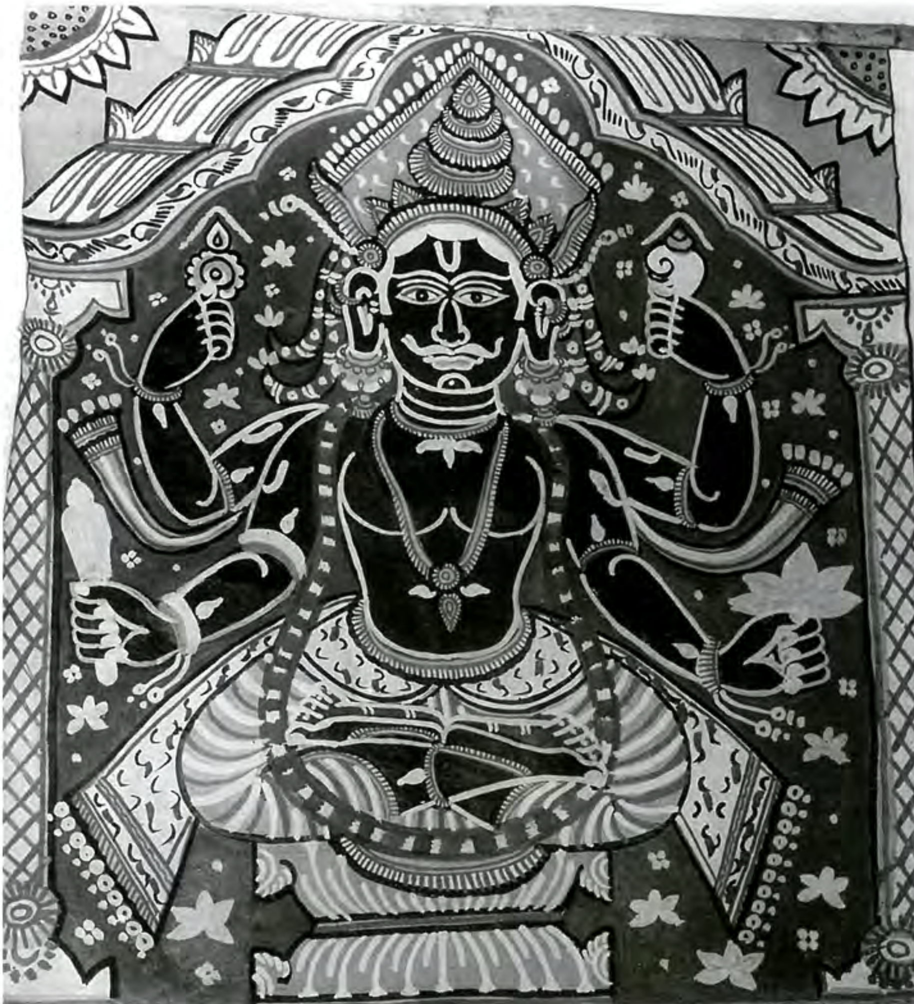
Fig. 105



Figs. 104–106 Commercial *pata* paintings with the *anasara* theme, Bhubaneswar, 2008



Furthermore, there exist also *anasara pati* paintings to replace temporarily the wooden single Jagannatha icons[65] called Patitapavana in Puri or Dadhivamana in South Orissa (for additional information see Appendix I, p. 93). These pictures are usually smaller in size, less broad, slightly simpler in iconography and less accomplished in their finish than the Jagannatha/Narayana pictures of the triptychs, but they are similarly used during the *anasara* rituals. One should therefore consider them a somewhat separate genre of ritual paintings. One sample of a *Patitapavana anasara pati* (see fig. 109) was photographed hanging in a Puri workshop in 1978 (see fig. 35 top left corner), another in Narayana Maharana's house in 2002 (see fig. 109). A superb Dadhivamana *anasara pati*, collected in 1978, is possibly by the hand of Shimhadri Maharana, the son of Shilpiratna Aparna Maharana of Jayapur (Jayapur District),[66] and now in a private collection (see fig. 107).



< Fig. 107 *Anasara pati* for Dadhivamana/Nilamadhava, possibly by Shimhadri Maharana, Jayapur c. 1960

Fig. 108 *Anasara pati* for Patitapavana in a painter's house in Puri 1978.



Fig. 109 *Anasara pati* for Patitapavana in the house of Narayana Maharana in Puri, 2002

Description of the "Zurich *Anasara Pati* Triptych from Puri of c. 1990"

The three *pata* paintings of this *anasara* triptych from Puri, registered here as Triptych 3 (see fig. 110–112), are of similar square size (all c. 118 × 97 cm), differing only slightly in height. Split bamboo is attached at the top and bottom of the canvases, which allows them to be fixed to a bamboo partition mat and later to be rolled back. They were used for the annual *anasara* rituals in the sanctum of the Jagannatha temple of Puri in 1990.

The three deities – Jagannatha / Narayana, to be placed to the right of the triptych, Subhadra / Bhuvaneshvari in the centre and Balabhadra / Ananta to the left – are each seated cross-legged *(padmasana)* in a multi-tiered wooden shrine *(kunja)* with an open front, framed by a trefoil arch resting on pillars with lotus-shaped capitals and pedestals. The dome *(pidha)* is crowned by a lotus-like pot *(padma kalasa)* flanked by green parrots, while four white pigeons perch on the slanted roofs and the heads of crocodile monsters *(makara)* decorate the lowest tiers. These shrines are placed against a blue background with small white dots, indicating a starry night sky; two half-lotuses decorate the corners. Inside the shrine a green canopy is draped above the red background that is sprinkled with small white flower motifs. The figures of the deities fill the entire space inside the shrines. The double-lotus pedestals on which the deities are enthroned stand on the white baseline, while the tip of their *mukuta* crowns touch the centre points of the arches above.

Seated four-armed black **Jagannatha / Narayana** (see fig. 110) is a stout, nearly square deity, with a large crowned round head, measuring one-third of the body from the tip of the forehead to the crossing point of his feet.[67] His four arms slant out from his shoulders; they are rounded and strong with beautifully crafted hands. His eyes, topped by well-carved eyebrows, are wide open, surrounded by red lines emphasizing his intense look. Nose and mouth are fleshy and clearly defined. He sports a trimmed white beard[68] and bold flame-like moustache, which touch the tips of his side-whiskers. His forehead, with the large U-shaped Vishnu forehead mark containing a red dot and a smaller one, again red but here outlined in white at the root of the nose (i.e. a *Ramanandi tilaka*), is surrounded by an indented hairline that takes the reverse shape of that of his beard. From his large earlobes hang crocodile pendants *(makara kundala)* and rings *(guna)* are pierced at the top of his ears.

Jagannatha / Narayana's chest is broad and adorned with a number of chains and pearl-strings. His sacred thread *(upavita)* of nine strands is flung across his chest and gets concealed under his waist girdle, which covers his navel. Two double lines emerge from the girdle, indicating the deity's belly. The god dons a yellow, striped silken waistcloth *(dhoti)* with a decorative blue border, in addition to which he has slung around the waist another decorative textile, called *trikacha*, because the ends are seen on both sides and the folded middle part passes through his legs and conceals partly the pedestal,[69] on which he sits cross-legged, the right foot covering the left. His ankles and wrists are decorated with ornate rings.

Jagannatha / Narayana wears a rich golden *mukuta* crown with leaves emerging as rays and stylized crocodile heads *(makara)* issuing at the sides. His long, wild flower garland *(vanamala)* consists of lotus buds, and his three-tiered, green-coloured matted locks of hair fly out from either side of his frontal face.

The god carries his conventional attributes with delicately shaped fingers: in his upper left hand the conch *(shankha)*, upper right the disc *(cakra)*, lower left the lotus *(padma)* and lower right the mace *(gada)*,[70] all emblems with an attached scarf tinted in the colours of his waistcloth *(dhoti)*. The U-shaped *vishnu-tilaka* mark is also conspicuous on his chest and upper arms, and appears simpler in V-shape on the nose ridge too. In addition, one may note on Jagannatha / Narayana's right chest the red shape of a "footprint". This is called *Srivatcha lanchana* and reflects a peculiar legend about Jagannatha: it is said to represent the thrashing that a Brahmin by the name Srivatcha delivered to the icon of Jagannatha when the deity ignored his repeated appeals for help. Here it is painted in red over the sacred thread *(upavita)* as if inserted later.

Seven tiny devotees or ascetics are depicted at the pedestal – four to the right and three to the left of the deity. Their small size reflects the impression of a group of pilgrims when standing in front of the monumental icon inside the Puri temple.[71]

> Fig. 110–112 Zurich *anasara pati* triptych of Puri, c. 1990







The body of **Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari** (see fig. 111) is painted chrome yellow *(haritala)*, a golden hue making her look like the goddess Lakshmi.[72] She is seated frontally and dressed in a white sari with a green border; she is bejewelled with nose rings *(notha)*, earrings *(tarata jhuma)*, two kinds of pendants *(hamsaguna* and *notha)*, wristbands *(khadu)*, armbands *(bajubandha)*, and wears finger rings *(mudi)* on each finger. The palms of her hands are reddened with dye *(alta)*, and pairs of green-black strands of hair fly out on both sides of her round head, while black hair curls under the *mukuta* crown.

Although Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari is not wearing an additional shoulder cloth, both such end pieces are depicted at her sides. In her two upper hands the goddess holds lotus flowers *(padma)*, her right lower hand forms the gesture of granting fearlessness *(abhaya)* and the right one expresses giving a blessing *(varada)*. There are two female attendant figures in the lower corners, one with a fan and the other with a whisk.

A small detail may be noted: Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari's left eye is slightly shorter than the right one. This is not accidental. This facial irregularity is considered "auspicious" in the Orissan view.

The figure of **Balabhadra/Ananta** (see fig. 112) is ash-white. His body and posture resemble that of Jagannatha/Narayana; however, he looks younger with his beaming countenance. Eyes, brows, nose, beard and forehead mark *(tilaka)* are identical in both the divine faces. The hairlines and moustaches, however, are different; on Balabhadra/Ananta's nose no *tilaka* is applied and his garland *(vanamala)* is of a golden hue, possibly indicating *campaka* flowers. The upper hands of Balabhadra/Ananta grasp the common Vishnu attributes – conch *(shanka)* and disc *(cakra)* – whereas the lower hands hold the emblems more specific for Balarama/Balabhadra, i.e. pestle *(mushala)* and plough *(hala)*. The *mukuta* crown, canopied by a seven-hooded white serpent,[73] points to the identification with Ananta.[74]

Balabhadra/Ananta is attended by two figures flanking him: on the left is the god Shiva standing in obedience with both his upper palms placed together, while the lower ones grasp a drum *(damaru)* and a trident *(trishula)*. On his head is a large snake.[75] The other attending figure is two-armed and has a royal appearance but carries a *vina* slanting over his shoulder. One is tempted to see here a representation of the famous seer Narada.[76] It could be a hint to the legend that Narada accompanied King Indradyumna[77] when he established the first Jagannatha shrine in Puri.[78]

These three *anasara* icons were painted in 1990 by the two Puri-based masters' workshops attached to the Jagannatha temple. Narayana Maharana, the adopted son of Rama Maharana, was responsible for the Jagannatha/Narayana *pati* as well as the Balabhadra/Ananta *pati*. The Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari *pati* was painted by Harihara Maharana and his colleagues. Both workshop styles are very similar, in fact indistinguishable. Both emphasize the grandeur of the deities and the importance of the clear visibility of all details. The proportions of the figures and their shrines are carefully adhered to and little deviation is permitted to ornamental details.

The colour scheme of this triptych is simple but effective with the use of only a few strong, unmixed base colours. Since the surfaces of the *patas* are not coated with any lacquer, the colours retain a bright, pastel quality. Compared to the exclusive use of black, white, red and yellow for the wooden icons of Jagannatha, Subhadra and Balabhadra, these *anasara* paintings have in addition blue and green, particularly in the dresses and the hair of the deities.

No doubt, the painted icons are stately in their divine presence, creating an aura of reverence.

Iconographic and Stylistic Differences in *Anasara Pati* Paintings from Puri Workshops

When we compare *anasara patis* produced by Puri painters over the span of about thirty years (see figs. 51–67), the iconographic changes in these ritual paintings are minimal. Only the side-figures like the number of adoring *rishis*, the depiction of Narada, Shiva and Brahma, the pattern of textiles, the species of birds on top of the shrine roof, the flowers used for garlands, the number of necklaces, the form of pendants etc. vary. In addition to these "aesthetic changes" we could make out three major iconographic "mistakes":

(1) The wrong placement of Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari's sari in Triptychs 1 and 6 (see fig. 52, 66);
(2) the footprint placed on Jagannatha's right chest instead on the left in Triptych 2 (see fig. 56);
(3) the placement of Jagannatha's left foot on top of the right one in Triptych 5 (see fig. 64); and
(4) that Jagannatha/Narayana in Triptych 6 of 2010 (see fig. 67) wears along with his necklaces also a tiger-claw pendant (*baghanakhi*) fixed to his neck choker, an emblem usually connected with Karttikeya, Shiva's warrior son[79] and hardly ever found on Vishnu images.[80]

These minor aberrations (more or less one on each year's version!) must also have been noticed by the temple authorities, but might not have been considered objectionable to the extent of rejecting the pictures: obviously, all these paintings we refer to were used for the rituals inside the Jagannatha temple of Puri. But such "mistakes" were rarely if ever repeated in the following year.

"Derivations" from the traditional iconography, however, like the replacement of Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari's lotus seat by the depiction of her sari plaits covering it entirely (Triptychs 4–6, see figs. 61, 63, 66) seem to have been unnoticed or accepted as a welcome innovation by the temple priests. Similarly in all the later versions, the conch emblem of Jagannatha/Narayana *(shankh)* is devoid of a top cover and the number of hair strands is variable on all icons.

As far as stylistic – and not iconographic – elements are concerned, the earlier versions represent Jagannatha/Narayana stouter than the later ones. His earlier expression resembles more the features of the wooden icon with large round eyes and strong lips, whereas the latest versions (Triptychs 5 and 6) tend to be less monumental, more decorative and in tune with other contemporary depictions of gods and goddesses. The painters also seem to enjoy freedom to use colours of their choice for all iconographically unimportant details like the costumes, garlands, jewellery and shrines. The latest version (see fig. 67) is, generally speaking, the most ornate in the depiction of these decorative elements.

Individual and therefore changing preferences for calligraphic qualities in lines can be noted in the depiction of chins, ears, navels, neck and belly folds, and details like the treatment of the lines marking the chests or limbs, where they can be singly or doubly drawn and sometimes end with a decorative spiral or even an elaborate sprig. The foot knuckle was depicted earlier on an upside crescent and became in the later versions a wavy line augmented sometimes by a small circle.

The colour scheme of the *anasara patis* is quite uniform; only Triptych 4 is remarkably different from the norm (as represented by Triptych 3). In this version for the year 1998 shades of bright pink, orange and light cobalt blue were introduced. But this "modernization"[81] was not continued the following years.

As a major trend in the stylistic change, we observe that in the painted icons since about 2000 (as seen in Triptychs 5 and 6) more space is given around the deities in their shrines, which makes them appear slightly smaller than before. This is most remarkable in the rendition of Balabhadra/Ananta: where in earlier versions the lower hands of the deity are painted in front of the side pillars (Triptych 3, see fig. 57) or touching them (Triptych 1, see fig. 51), in the latest version (Triptych 6, see fig. 65) they are very much confined inside the shrine. The deities on the earlier versions were also stouter than in later ones, their expression somewhat fiercer, and their large eyes had sterner expressions than later on. One may remark that the images of the "middle period" (Triptychs 3 and 4) have a more stately appearance than the latest ones, which tend to be more ornate.

Jagannatha/Narayana

	Set 1 **Puri, 1974** Calico Museum	**Set 2** **Puri, 1978** Government Orissa	**Set 3** **Puri, 1990** Zurich	**Set 4** **Puri, 1998** *Matha*	**Set 5** **Puri, 2001**	**Set 6** **Puri, 2009**
Face	Broad	Elongated	Broad	Elongated	Elongated	Broad
Eyes	Wide open, round	Wide open	Elongated	Elongated	Elongated	Wide open
Eyebrows	Heavy	Slim	Slim	Slim	Slim	Slim
Forehead	Dotted lines, parallel to eyebrows		Wavy hairline		No added lines	No dotted lines
Side-whiskers		Matching with beard line	Touching moustache	Covered by ear-ornaments	Thin	Beard framing full face
Mouth		Normal	Full	Full	Normal, additional line under lower lip	Full, additional line under lower lip
Neck	2 folds, 1 partly concealed under the beard	No folds	Very short, one fold	No fold	One fold, but in addition several strings	Two folds
Crown	7 petals	7 petals, mango-shaped	7 large petals and 6 smaller petals	5 large petals and 6 smaller petals	7 large petals and 6 smaller petals	11 petals
Back of crown *(tahiha)*	Demarcated by garland	Not existing	Not existing	Imposing, triangular	Not existing	Triangular, demarcated by dotted lines
Crocodile heads *(makara)*	3 strands, not connected	No strands	No strands	No strands	5 strands hanging	3 strands emerging
Hairstrands	3 dotted	3 with single dots in brackets	3 striped	3 with stars	5 striped	5 striped
Foot print on torso	Not visible	On left side (wrongly placed!)	On right side	On right side	On right side	On right side, elaborately painted
Chest demarcation	1 line	1 line	1 line	2 lines	2 lines	1 line
Necklaces	3	4 and 2 dotted pearl-strings	3 and 2 dotted pearl-strings	4 and 3 dotted pearl-strings	4 (1 with tiger-claw pendant) and 3 dotted pearl-strings	4 (excessive forms of necklace beads), choker with tiger-claw pendant, 3 pearl-strings
Stomach fold	Not indicated	Not indicated	2 lines	3 lines	1 line	5 lines
Sacred thread	White, continuing	White continuing on the hip	White and red, ending at girdle	Orange, continuing on hip	White, 3 lines, continuing	White, 5 lines, ending at girdle
Feet	Right foot in front	Right foot in front	Right foot in front	Covered by a cloth	Left foot in front (wrong!)	Right foot in front
Shrine *(kunja)*	Less elaborate	Less elaborate	Elaborate with *makaras*	Not elaborate	Elaborate with *kirtimukha*-face	Very elaborate (top not visible)
Birds	No	No	2 parrots and 4 pigeons	2 parrots	4 pigeons	2 pigeons (visible)
Pointing finger at disc *(cakra)*	Behind	In front, pointing at the centre of the *cakra*	In front, over the *cakra*	Covered by *cakra*	In front, pointing at the centre of the *cakra*	Behind the *cakra*
Garlands	Full-blown lotuses, pendant: leaves	Lotus buds and 1 full blown lotus	Lotus buds	Lotus buds and 1 full blown lotus	Lotus buds (lower part not visible)	Lotus buds and full-blown lotuses alternating
Rishis left/right side	3/4	3/4	4/3	2/3	(not visible)	4/3
Arms	Single outline, no elbow mark	Single outline, with crescent elbow mark	Single line, with crescent elbow mark	Double line with end-ornamentation, no elbow mark	Double inner-line with end-decorations, no elbow-marks	Single line with ornamentation, no elbow mark
Conch (shankha)		Small finger on conch	Small finger in front of conch	Small finger on conch	Small finger on conch	Small finger on conch
Navel			Not indicated		Vertical line	Prominent, drop-over crescent

Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari

No major variations are visible in the depictions of Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari in Triptychs 1, 3, 4 and 5, except that in the picture of Triptych 1, the sari is differently placed over the left bosom of the goddess. It may also be noted that the lotus seat has disappeared since Set 4 of c. 1998 (see fig. 61).

The dress material, i.e. the decoration of Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari's costume, seems not to be fixed; the colour scheme, as well as the decorative motives, varies on blouse and sari.

Balabhadra/Ananta

On Balabhadra/Ananta's pictures of Triptychs 1, 3 and 4 very few deviations are visible. One may observe only that the treatment of the locks of hair is variably handled and that the fingers of the upper hands hold the emblems with slightly different formations: in Triptychs 1 and 3 the disc emblem *(cakra)* is turned with the index finger at the hub, in Triptych 4 however at the rim. (In the photograph of Triptych 5, the upper emblems are unfortunately covered with a cloth.) Only in Triptych 3 are the two *rudraksha mala* garlands omitted.

The adoring figures of Shiva and Narada on the Balabhadra/Ananta *anasara patis* are depicted most conventionally in Triptych 3, whereas in Triptychs 1 and 4 they seem to be inspired more by contemporary commercial prints. Only in Triptych 3 does Shiva wear a snake on his head and sport a trimmed beard and half U-shaped *tilaka* marks on the upper arm. They are, however, on Jagannatha's arms on all triptychs.

Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari

	Set 1 **Puri, 1974** Calico Museum	**Set 2** **Puri, 1978** Government Orissa	**Set 3** **Puri, 1990** Zurich	**Set 4** **Puri, 1998** *Matha*	**Set 5** **Puri, 2001**	**Set 6** **Puri, 2009**
Crown	Simple, 5 petals	5 large, 6 small	7 large and 8 small petals	7 large and 8 small petals	7 large and 8 small petals	7 large and 8 small petals
Chin	Dot	Crescent with dot	Circle with dot	Upper half-circle with dot	Upper half-circle with star	Upper half-circle with star
Lotus *(padma)*			Single lotus	Double lotus	Double lotus	Open double lotus
Fingers holding lotus	Stretched out	Full grasp	Full grasp	Small finger stretched out	2 fingers stretched out	2 fingers stretched out
Hairstrands	3	3	2	3	3	4
Sari	Over left shoulder	Over right shoulder	Over right shoulder	Over right shoulder	Over right shoulder	Over right shoulder
Seat	Full-blown lotus (realistic)	Full-blown lotus (realistic)	Full-blown lotus (decorative)	Sari folds *(panchi)*	Sari folds *(panchi)*	Sari folds *(panchi)*
Shrine (kunja)	Top with *cakra*	Top not visible	Top lotus bud with green parrots	Top lotus bud with white parrot	Top vase *(amalaka)* and disc *(cakra)*	Top lotus bud with white parrots

Balabhadra/Ananta

	Set 1 **Puri, 1974** Calico Museum	**Set 2** **Puri, 1978** Government Orissa	**Set 3** **Puri, 1990** Zurich	**Set 4** **Puri, 1998** *Matha*		**Set 6** **Puri, 2009**
Marks *(tilaka)* on body						On upper arms, chest
Hairstrands	3, with stripes and dots	2, stripes and dots	3, with stripes	3, with dots		3, with stripes and dots
Shiva	With moustache		With snake-hood	Snake around neck		Snake around neck
Indexfinger turning disc *(cakra)*	At hub	At rim	At hub	At rim		At rim
Rudraksha mala		2	none	2		2
Hairstrands	3	3	2	3		4

The *Anasara Pati* Triptychs, No. 7A and 7B, from Manpur, Cuttack District

The two *anasara* paintings of Triptych 7A (the Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari icon is missing) still belong to the *citrakara* family of Manpur, a settlement of Tigiria in Cuttack District (see fig. 113, 114). The 70-year-old owner Nityananda Mahapatra was quite secretive at first in just showing their possession, but finally they allowed them to be photographed.[82] He claims that these pictures were executed by his grandfather, Hadu Mahapatra, who was active in the latter part of the 19th and early 20th century. It is, however, more likely that they were painted by his father Markanda Subudhi, who died in 1946 at the age of 63, which would date them in the first half of the 20th century.

The Manpur paintings are about half the size of the Puri paintings (measuring 49.5 × 41 cm).

In a simple, flat-roofed red shrine with a striped and tasselled canopy placed before black corners indicating night, sits black-bodied, youthful-looking Jagannatha/Narayana (see fig. 114). Wide-open white eyes with the centrally placed pupil-dots dominate his rather round face, in which his red lips, eyebrows, moustache, hairline and beard are delineated in yellow. Very prominent is the white Ramanandi forehead mark *(tilaka)* in the shape of a U with a dot underneath and a central red mark. The crown consists of a diadem from which a beautifully mounted central jewel, triangular petals and strings of flower emerge. The side pieces *(makara)* are highly stylized, while the rings attached to the earlobes are rather "realistic" crocodiles.

The outlines of Jagannatha/Narayana's slender arms are hatched to give them volume. In his upper hands he holds disc and conch, in the lower ones mace and lotus. His torso above the narrow waist is decorated with many necklaces, a bifurcated flower garland and a sacred thread *(upavita)*. He





Fig. 113–114 The "Manpur triptych of 1900/25"



Fig. 115–117 "Manpur triptych of 2000"

sits cross-legged on a fully blown lotus placed on a flat drum-shaped pedestal. His lower body, covered by a yellow waistcloth *(dhoti)* with a strangely pleated textile girdle around the hips is relatively short, with his feet placed over the lotus, encircled by a garland. A rectangular backdrop *(tahia)* with an umbrella-like top emerges over his shoulders, framing neck, face and crown.

Balabhadra/Ananta (see fig. 113), of white complexion, has a pleasant countenance. His eyes are wide open with the upper lid-line forming a bow, and are contoured red under black arched lid-lines and fine brows. The face with a fleshy red mouth and delicately trimmed moustache, a curly beard along the jaw and chin, fine striped hair above the forehead decorated with a Ramanandi-type mark *(tilaka)* has a noble appearance. Balabhadra/Ananta wears the same crown, earrings, necklaces, dress and garlands as his brother and also carries disc and conch in his upper hands, but mace *(gada)* and plough *(hala)* in the lower ones. Shrine, backdrop and pedestal correspond with the other image.

The Manpur *anasara* Triptych 7B of 2000 (see figs. 115–117) was produced for the local Jagannatha temple by the then 42-year-old Nakula Chandra Maharana, son of Nityananda Mahapatra. Nakula Chandra said that he had copied his pictures from the old paintings he had inherited from his father Nityananda Mahapatra. The three paintings are of the same size, measuring 41.5×49 cm and are very close to the older pictures. There are hardly any iconographic deviations visible. In the Jagannatha/Narayana icon, Nakula Chandra left out only the white tassels issuing from the elbows and replaced them with similar ones at the pearl necklace. He also omitted the white strip at the throne. In the case of Balabhadra/Ananta, the pink of the eyes appears stronger than earlier on, indicating that the deity is intoxicated after drinking *kadamvari* wine.

In addition to these two male gods, the icon of Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari also exists in this set (see fig. 116): four-armed, of yellow complexion, she is dressed in a white flower-patterned sari with two blue end pieces. She wears it like a stitched garment without a blouse but draped symmetrically as a breast medallion. The goddess is adorned with prominent nose ornaments comprising a pendant *(nota)* and two unequally sized rings *(guna)*, and large round *jhumpa* flower-like ear-lobe hangings. In her upper hands she holds up goad *(ankusha)* and noose *(pasha)* formed like a twisted scarf. On the forehead she has a simple round red mark *(tilaka)* surrounded by fine white dots. The corners of her eyes are reddened to enhance her liveliness.

Anasara Pati Triptychs from South Orissa

The *Anasara Pati* Triptychs from Ganjam District

The *citrakara* families of South Orissa are interrelated and their workshop products are similar in iconography, style and quality. It is not possible to define all "peripheral workshop" styles (as seen with a Puri focus) because from two important workshops, Chikitigada and Mathura, unfortunately, no *anasara pati* triptychs can be presented here, as we were unable to view and photograph them there. It is, however, possible that the Triptych 12 we documented in the Jagannatha temple of Rumagada belongs to the Mathura tradition. We discuss the triptychs from Berhampur and northern Ganjam (the area nearest to Puri) first, and then proceed to the southern former princely residential towns of Paralakhemandi and Jayapur.

Anasara pati **Triptych 8** (see fig. 118) was collected from a *citrakara* family workshop in Ainabandha Street in Berhampur in 1986. The painter said that it had been in their home for the last ten to fifteen years and had been brought to them by the local Jagannatha temple authorities, when they requested the production of a new version, and was subsequently left with them.

The three deities are painted on one canvas, sitting under equally broad and high arches, separated from each other by slender columns. Folds of canopies are visible above them under the half-circular arches, and both the middle pillars as well as the corner ones are fitted with lamps with glass lampshades (of British make and fashion) containing burning candles. In the junctures of the arches, simple flower motifs are set.



Fig. 118 The "Berhampur triptych of 1970"

At the base of each of these niches three priests are attending to the deities. They sit cross-legged, are robust and bulky small figures with their sacred threads prominently shown on their bellies over the navels. They wave lamps *(arti)* in their raised right hands, while ringing bells with their left. Plates of offerings are placed on the side of the lamp stands and large pitchers, along with coconuts and mango leaves.

The deities are sitting on double-drum-shaped pedestals, left leg hanging and right knee folded *(lalitasana)*. Jagannatha/Narayana and Balabhadra/Ananta have their goddesses *(shakti)* on their laps, embracing them with their lower left arms.[83] They are two-armed ladies, dressed in saris and holding a lotus flower. Only their crowns indicate their divine status. Jagannatha/Narayana as well as Balabhadra/Ananta are both young looking and are beardless. They are four-armed, equipped with three of their normal emblems: Jagannatha/Narayana with mace *(gada)*, disc *(cakra)* and conch *(shankha)* – the lotus flower being in the hand of his consort, and Balabhadra/Ananta with the pestle *(mushala)*, disc and conch.

Both male deities have large serpent-hoods behind their crowned heads, which is for the icon of Jagannatha/Narayana extraordinary in the context of *anasara patis*! One is, however, reminded that here Vishnu is represented together with his wife Lakshmi. This "Lakshmi–Narayana" reclining on the Sesha snake is usually represented as Vishnu with his devoted spouse at his feet.

The goddess Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari, dressed in a green sari with a similarly coloured blouse, is crowned like her brothers, but has an oval halo contrasting with her yellow face. Her upper hands carry full-blown lotus flowers, the lower ones show benign gestures (*abhaya* and *varada mudras*).

The forehead marks *(tilaka)* of these three figures differ from each other: while Jagannatha/Narayana has that of the Ramanandi type, Balabhadra/Ananta wears a normal Vishnu mark. Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari's dot, with a small crescent below and a vertical line above, forms a *tilaka*, which Telegu-speaking women in Berhampur and neighbouring Coastal Andhra Pradesh apply to their foreheads.

Triptych 9 was painted by Satrughna Mahapatra in Digapahandi in Ganjam District (see fig. 119–121) several decades ago: the three pictures are badly defaced and in very poor condition. The *citrakara* master Lakshmikanta Mahapatra stated that they were painted by his grandfather Satrughna





Fig. 119–121 The "Digapahandi triptych of Satrughna Mahapatra of c. 1940"

Mahapatra in the pre-independence period, probably around 1940. The paintings are rectangular and rather small in size (45×30 cm) and once were contained in a yellow border. The deities are placed under a trefoil arch with a white scalloped roof topped by a *kalasa* pot, from which branches with flowers and leaves stem out. This canopy structure has no pillared support. The cornices are black, possibly with the indication of white star dots. The background of all three icons is red, but their haloes are white in the case of Jagannatha/Narayana and Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari, and blue in the case of Balabhadra/Ananta. The deities are seated cross-legged on yellow double-lotus pedestals. Jagannatha/Narayana and Balabhadra/Ananta hold the standard attributes, i.e. Jagannatha/Narayana the mace *(gada)*, conch *(shankha)* and lotus bud *(padma)* and Balabhadra/Ananta the pestle *(mushala)*, which is painted slightly differently from the mace, in addition to a disc *(cakra)* and a plough *(hala)*. Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari's emblems are an elephant goad *(ankusha)* and a snake-like cloth or sling *(sapa* or *pasha)*. She wears her sari without a blouse, i.e. the sari covers her bosom with an oval shape and falls symmetrically down both sides of her torso, the end piece extending to her left. A second fluttering end piece, white with fringe, is added to the right, making the icon's silhouette symmetrical. Possibly, Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari's hair was shown tied in a bun, falling on her left side.

Balabhadra/Ananta has a seven-headed snake hood above his halo, surmounting his crown, which is hardly visible anymore. He seems to be beardless with a double chin and thin horizontal moustache. His mouth looks rather tight-lipped and his forehead is framed by parallel locks of hair, falling from the crown in his face. He wears a yellow *dhoti* with a blue waist scarf tied around the belly with the end pieces falling down on both sides. His upper hands are strangely formed, grasping the attributes with the index finger and the small finger placed at an angle.

The colour scheme is again simple, consisting of white, black, yellow and blue, with only a few forms like the leaves painted in green.

From the same workshop but a more recent production, painted by the young Lakshmikanta Mahapatra[84] (aged thirty-five) are the images of Jagannatha/Narayana and Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari of **Triptych 10** (see fig. 122, 123). They are 48×35 cm in size and confirm the traditional iconography; however, they have quite a contemporary look: this is mainly due to the use of cobalt blue for Jagannatha/Narayana's body colour and bright yellow for his *dhoti* with much black hatching, indicating folds and volume. The feet of the deities are joined horizontally heel to heel, which is obviously anatomically impossible but quite common on icons (to show the divine feet). This "simplification" contrasts





Fig. 122–123 The "Digapahanadi triptych of Lakshmikanta Mahapatra of c. 1996"

somewhat with the neatly rendered juvenile faces with slit eyes. Jagannatha/Narayana's trimmed moustache and his black hair falling sideways on his shoulders intensify the viewer's impression that this could also be a portrait of a local actor!

The space for the deity is a proper square; much of the lower part is reserved for a rectangular pedestal decorated with a screen *(jali)* pattern. Seated against a strong red background, the image of Jagannatha/Narayana touches the outer edges of the frame with his crown and emblems and scarf ends. One may notice that the arms with hands lifting disc and conch appear just behind the elbows of the front ones that hold mace and lotus. The handle of the disc *(cakra)* is twisted like a flower stem.

Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari, of yellow complexion, has four lotuses in her strong, manly hands. She wears a nose ring and a silver-white nose pendant, and a vertical red forehead mark, indicating a third eye. The backdrop behind her face and crown consists of the same green patterned textile as her sari and breast covering, while her blouse is blue with white check design. The front folds of her sari *(panci)* have become cushion shaped, a detail that also occurs under Jagannatha/Narayana's feet.

Triptych 11 was painted by Radhagovinda Mahapatra of Digapahandi and was found in the Jagannatha temple of Dengapadara in 1996 (see fig. 124–126). The three deities are seated against blue backdrops, designed like the pattered textiles used in rural Orissa as theatre screens. They sit on pink lotuses placed on red stands *(khatuli)*. Curtain folds are hung on both sides of the trefoil arches.

Jagannatha/Narayana's feet emerge from folded legs, whereas those of Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari and Balabhadra/Ananta are just placed horizontally on their lap with a wavy line demarking the placement of the legs under the textiles.[85] Only Jagannatha/Narayana's feet are placed somewhat apart from each other.

All three images have expressive, lively faces with bushy black hair. The features of the two male gods are more or less identical though their complexions differ.

When the young painter delivered a new set of *anasara patis* to the Dengapadara temple in 1998, the priest and the temple manager scrutinized the new triptych rather carefully by comparing the pictures with the previous year's version (see fig. 48). The painter had changed only the form of the pedestals and the backdrops in the upper corners. When ordering the set, they had in fact asked him to make some changes: they wanted the deities to sit on drum-shaped pedestals, and asked him to decorate the corners of the Jagannatha/Narayana *pati* with lion faces *(kirtimukha)*, that of Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari with elephant heads, and insert flowers in the corners of Balabhadra/Ananta's image – ob-



Fig. 124–126 The "Digapahandi triptych of Radhagovinda Mahapatra of c. 1996"

viously uncertain about what would suit this god iconographically! The painter obliged, and they were quite satisfied with the results of these ordered "improvements".

Triptych 12 from Rumagada (see fig. 127–129) was most probably produced by a young painter from nearby Mathura.[86] It is rather small (Jagannatha/Narayana and Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari 36.5×30 cm, Balabhadra/Ananta 38×30 cm), and in a folk style. The figures of the three deities are placed against a plain red background with very little ornamentation. Their shrines have been reduced to frames; however, their striped base still reminds one of a pedestal, and in the upper corners flat green has replaced the night sky patterns of all other versions from South Orissan workshops. The tassels hanging down from the green top border may indicate a canopy.

Though crudely painted, the three deities are conceived seated cross-legged *(padmasana)*. Only Balabhadra/Ananta sits on a board, the others float over tufts of grass. The colours of their four-armed bodies are correct – blue, yellow and white. The image of Balabhadra/Ananta is a repetition of Jagannatha/Narayana, only with a different body colour. Jagannatha/Narayana's attributes are in correct sequence, whereas those of Balabhadra/Ananta seem to represent the disc twice instead of including a conch once, and his main attribute, the pestle *(mushala)*, is formed identically to the mace *(gada)* of Jagannatha/Narayana. The plough *(hala)* is held upside-down and may not have been understood by the painter. The goddess Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari holds lotuses in her upper hands. Quite extraordinary is the depiction of their stems with leaves shown more or less in profile. All three deities have circular haloes filled with short yellow lines suggesting radiating light. The painter also tries to show folds in *dhotis* and sari by clumsily adding parallel lines to the silhouettes.[87]

One may call the way this painter has painted the gods' faces with untrimmed moustaches and long curly hair "innovative", because this gives them a rather unusual wild appearance. These images may not deserve much merit as "art objects", but they show how ritualistic paintings can also look – correct as far as iconography is concerned, but uninhibited by stylistic anxieties. Obviously the painter himself thought this "art brut" set of *anasara patis* quite adequate for use in a Jagannatha temple, since the split bamboos and other arrangements for hanging them were fixed to it.

In the two *anasara patis* of **Triptych 13** painted by Yogindra Mahapatra of Dharakote (see fig. 130, 131) around 1983 (each sized 68×53 cm), Jagannatha/Narayana is seated cross-legged on a rectangular flat pedestal of low height inside a trefoil-arched red shrine *(pidha kunja)* with tassels hanging from the ceiling. The deity is of ultramarine complexion with



Fig. 127–129 The "Rumagada triptych of c. 1998"





Fig. 130, 131 The "Dharakote triptych by Yogindra Mahapatra of c. 1983"

a round face on a slender, somewhat emaciated-looking body,[88] dressed in a yellow, black-dotted *dhoti*. A second translucent girdle cloth hangs over his left calf and the front folds *(panci)* of his waistcloth replace the open-lotus seat on the pedestal. He is crowned, adorned with large earrings decorated with crocodile *(makara)* heads, bracelets, necklaces and flower garlands. Conspicuous is the sacred thread that forms a loose loop around his waist on the right. His emblems – mace, disc, conch and lotus – are in the normal order. Fluttering textiles are fixed to the disc and conch.

The monumental-looking icon of Jagannatha/Narayana is adored by small figures standing at the side of his pedestal. Sketched with yellow outlines only, they are difficult to decipher: possibly one is holding an axe (Shiva?); the other (Brahma?) has his hands folded in front of the chest in adoration.

Balabhadra/Ananta – of white complexion – is similarly shaped to Jagannatha/Narayana, and he holds the same emblems with the exception that a second mace or pestle replaces the lotus. Different, however, is the depiction of his eyes with the pupils drawn upwards, as if the deity is in an intoxicated state of mind.[89] Even the outline of his eyes is slightly twisted, possibly to indicate his withdrawnness or that he is drunken. To associate this image still more with the god Shiva,[90] his forehead mark *(tilaka)* is here in the form of a third eye inside the U-shaped Vishnu symbol. Jagannatha/Narayana's forehead in contrast is decorated with the normal Ramanandi *tilaka*. This icon is also worshipped by two tiny figures – one crowned, the other dancing with a *vina* in the outstretched hand. In all likelihood, the sage Narada is here represented.



Fig. 132–134 The "Dharakote triptych by Yogindra Mahaptara of 1998"

A second *anasara pati* set, **Triptych 14** was – like the previous one – prepared by Yogindra Mahapatra from Dharakote, after an interval of about fifteen to twenty years (see fig. 132–134 and 44). The paintings measure 58×47 cm and permit interesting insights into the continuity and change in this master's work.

This triptych is somewhat smaller; the figures of the earlier paintings are slightly more elongated; the composition of the shrines, the emblems of sun and moon in the dark green corners remain unchanged. The colour scheme, however, has been altered drastically: instead of vermillion red, a strong pink has been used as the background colour and Jagannatha/Ananta's body is painted cobalt blue, which is again used as contrasting colour for Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari's backdrop.

The side-figures in Jagannatha/Narayana's case are clearly Indra[91] and Shiva, in Balabhadra/Ananta's Narada[92] and Brahma,[93] and in Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari's two female attendants. These small figures have lost their sketchy quality and have become solid, two-coloured figures with well-formed bodies and emblems. Not changed at all are the wavy lines in black for all contours and the additional red line around the eyes. This colour was also used for a second chest line. The peculiar formation of the upper hands visible on the previous triptych is kept in this later version, whereas the lower hands of Jagannatha/Narayana, which had once grasped the emblems with closed fists, is altered: in the later version, Yogindra Mahapatra applies his formation of upper hands also for the lower ones. But fine details like the intoxicated eyes of Balabhadra/Ananta with the curved upper eyelid (but not the drawn-up pupil!), his approximation to Shiva by the third eye on his forehead and the youthful look of Jagannatha/Narayana have all been retained.

Anasara **Triptych 15** (see fig. 135) was painted by the *citrakara* Khali Mahapatra of Barapalligada and was installed in the local Jagannatha temple in 1998.

These deities have once again the look of actors performing in local theatre productions, who in turn are "inspired" by modern religious prints and film posters. The three



Fig. 135 The "Barapaligada triptych by Khalli Mahapatra of 1998"

gods are depicted sitting cross-legged in simple shrines with slanted roofs and spiral columns. Their pictures have black upper corners and strong-coloured backgrounds: the two male deities are surrounded by red, the goddess by blue.

Jagannatha/Narayana has an elongated face, wears a high crown and holds mace, disc, conch and lotus bud in his four arms. He sports a moustache, but no beard and has shoulder-length curly hair. Balabhadra/Ananta, of white complexion as usual, has the same features and emblems as his brother; only the mace is somewhat differently shaped, possibly to indicate a pestle (*mushala*). Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari's crowned yellow face is surrounded by a red backdrop *(tahia)*. Her hair flows over her shoulders and she wears a red blouse *(coli)* with a sari of the same colour. In her upper hands she holds lotus flowers, the lower hands show *abhaya* and *varada* gestures.

The fourth *anasara pati* painting that this painter had to deliver to the Jagannatha shrine (see fig. 47) represents Dadhivamana, the single Jagannatha icon,[94] and is a smaller version of his Jagannatha/Narayana picture. In this temple it is hung in line with the triptych, because in the Barapaligada Jagannatha temple a second but small wooden icon of this god is placed among the subsidiary bronze figures. This is not uncommon in South Orissa, but normally these additional idols don't need an *anasara pati*.

The *Anasara Pati* Triptychs from Paralakhemandi and Jayapur

Anasara pati **Triptych 16** was painted by the *citrakara* master Prakash Chandra Mahapatra[95] in Paralakhemandi (see fig. 136),[96] who had the right of serving *(seva)* the local Jagannatha temple.[97] He was considered the best painter of the region and received the State Master Craftsman Award of Orissa in 2000. He died in 2008. This *anasara* triptych was painted in 1996, when the master was about 60 years of age.

These fine pictures are rather small and rectangular (87 × 60 cm), the image of the goddess being slightly smaller (84 × 60 cm). The side pillars of the pavilions *(kunja)* in which the deities are placed rest on the lotus-petal pedestals. Their flat roofs consist of three tiers without specific tops. Strings composed of white pearls project on both sides of the roof. The rear of the pavilions is decorated with flowers, and is blue in the case of the goddess but red for the gods. The upper corners of the pictures are painted in blackish blue, which should indicate a night sky.

The three crowned deities (see figs. 138–140) are four-armed, seated cross-legged, the right foot in front of the left one. Their faces are squarish, their chests somewhat shrunken – even Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari doesn't display the full swelling bosom commonly associated with an Orissan goddess! The hands of the icons are disproportionally large with a peculiar way of laying out the fingers: the upper hands grasp the attributes with two fingers, while the other



Fig. 136 Prakash Chandra Mahapatra painting a mural in Paralakhemandi, 1978

two and the thumb are raised. In the lower hands, the top members of the little fingers hang down strangely bent.

The eyes of these icons are wide open with large black eyes at the centres. The ears are very prominent, and the gods wear crocodile-shaped ornaments in the upper part of the ear *(makara kundala)*. The rings in the earlobes of the male faces project sideways, whereas the disc-shaped earrings *(tarata jhumpa)* of the goddess are shown frontally. Behind the heads of the deities we find rectangular haloes *(prabha)* – red in the case of the goddess, green for the gods – with a trefoil arch filling the spaces of the pavilions up to the canopies and taking the shapes of throne backdrops.

Superbly rendered in all three faces are the large eyes, red-outlined, with their thin lid-lines and the similarly curved, but much thicker drawn eyebrows. The fleshy mouths of the gods show no indication of split lips but have a wavy line with pointed ends under the lower lip. Side-whiskers, nipples, and all body decorations are rather prominent and were carefully painted in all the three figures.

Dark blue **Jagannatha/Narayana** (see fig. 138) sports a black, curvilinear beard, emphasized with yellow lines. His side-whiskers, moustache and eyebrows are drawn with the same yellow. His forehead mark *(tilaka)* consists of four parts: a white large U with a red dot in the centre, a wavy line at its base and a white dot underneath. The same mark appears also on the chest and abdomen and simplified on shoulders and upper arms. Jagannatha/Narayana holds his regular attributes: conch *(shankha)*, disc *(cakra)*, mace *(gada)* and lotus *(padma)*. He wears a yellow *dhoti (pitambara)* and a white scarf tied around the waist. In front of his belly a flat shield-like form is created with the end piece of this textile. Projecting at his side are the ends of an otherwise obscure narrow yellow shoulder cloth as well as tassels, which are fixed to his arm rings.

Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari (see fig. 139) is golden-hued, four-armed with elephant goad *(ankusha)* and snake *(sarpa)* in her upper hands. The snake is coiled twice. The two lower hands are placed on her thighs in the gesture of *varada* and *abhaya mudra*. Her red sari is beautifully decorated with yellow flowers; her blue blouse is visible only at the shoulders. Prominent on her forehead is a third eye *(trinetra)*,[98] flanked by three parallel red lines and based on a red V-shaped mark with a dot just above the nose.

White-complexioned **Balabhadra/Ananta** (see fig. 140) is drawn very similarly to Jagannatha/Narayana, with only one detail changed: in his lower left hand he carries a stylized plough *(hala)*. His other attribute, the pestle, is shown here as a mace. On top of Balabhadra/Ananta's crown appears the seven-hooded silver-grey snake with a towering body and many heads. Ananta's *tilaka* marks are red only. His upper arms seem to branch out of his shoulders behind the front ones.

One may note an idiosyncrasy of Prakash Chandra Mahapatra, which is visible in most of his depictions of gestures *(mudras)*, i.e. the wrong placement of the lower hands with their palms shown, decorated with small crescents, and the left and right thumbs being exchanged.[99]

To show the consistency of Prakash Chandra Mahapatra's work, this *anasara pati* triptych may be compared with another approximately contemporary work of his, a single tablet layered with cloth and then painted with the Jagannatha triad (see fig. 141).



Fig. 137 Dadhivamana/Nilamadhava *pati* from an unknown painter in Paralakhemandi or Jayapur, c. 1925/1950

> Fig. 138–140 Set 16, *Anasara pati* triptych from Paralakhemandi and Jayapur by Prakash Chandra Mahapatra









Fig. 141 *Anasara pati* mounted on a wooden board by Prakash Chandra Mahapatra in Paralakhemandi c. 1990

Triptych 17 (see fig. 141) on a wooden board is the work of Prakash Chandra Mahapatra of c. 1990, found in his workshop a decade later. Due to the constraints of space here the figures overlap, in particular Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari's hands are covered by those of Jagannatha/Narayana, and Balabhadra/Ananta and the deities are seated without pedestals under three trefoil arches resting on two corner pillars. Elaborate decorations are missing, like the seven-hooded snake canopy of Balabhadra/Ananta. The haloes, necklaces and garlands are also left out entirely, as are the beards on the male faces. In the small-format painting, Prakash Mahapatra has maintained the colour scheme of the triptych except for Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari's sari. The shade was changed because a uniform red background was used for all three deities, and therefore a contrast was called for when depicting the costumes of the goddess.

Stylistically related to the work of the Paralakhemandi *citrakara* tradition, as available in the main contemporary exponent's paintings, is the *anasara pati* set **Triptych 18** (see fig. 142–144), once in the Stuart Cary Welch collection, published by Barbara Rossi (1998, no. 25) and attributed to "one of the many Jagannatha temples in the surrounding countryside" (of Puri). We are of the opinion that this triptych is the work of a senior South Orissan painter,[100] who originated from Paralakhemandi but most probably worked in Jayapur town, where a number of Jagannatha temples exist. There are no documents available as to when and where the pictures were acquired, but it is likely that the set was painted around 1950 or slightly earlier.

The painted shrines with the double-lotus pedestals, on which the side columns are placed, are identical in their construction with the work in Triptych 19 by Paikarai Mahapatra







Fig. 142–144 The "Jaypur (Koraput) triptych of c. 1950"



Fig. 145–147 The "Jayapur (Koraput) triptych by Paikarai Mahapatra of c. 1978"

from Jayapur of c. 1978 (see fig. 145–147). Their flat, multi-cusped domes are, however, slightly more elaborate than the later ones. In both sets the upper corners are black, filled with stars, to give the impression of a night sky. The background colours are red for the gods and black-blue for the goddess (as in the Paralakhemandi triptych). The haloes of the deities are elongated, and in Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari's case patterned in continuation of her sari.

The colour scheme of these paintings is restricted to red, yellow, black, white and a little bit of green, but these colours are carefully distributed to create contrasts. The figures are somewhat stiffer than the ones made by the Paralakhemandi master, and they seem to be constructed of three segments joined together by narrow necks and waists. The faces of all three deities are circular, the eyes placed at the lower lid. Their slender *mukuta* crowns are decorated with a diadem consisting of six attached leafs. Astonishingly round are the torsos of both the male gods with wasp waists. The arms emanate from the shoulders and carry the usual attributes (mace, disc, conch and lotus). From the icon's shoulders, bead-strings and the ends of a shoulder cloth fling out.

Jagannatha/Narayana (see fig. 144) is heavily decorated with three garlands *(vanamalas)* and ten necklaces, all meticulously painted;[101] also, the red footprint is present on the chest of Jagannatha/Narayana.

Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari (see fig. 143), of yellow complexion, is dressed in a red sari that covers her breasts in the shape of a shield and is draped around her body. The sari ends with a nicely decorated end piece *(panata palau)* on her left side, but is somewhat "extraordinarily" worn: it hangs down symmetrically from both her shoulders as if it represents a garland. The halo of the goddess seems to be formed by another part of the same sari. Her hands, shown in *varada* and *abhaya mudra*, are not exactly like those painted by Prakash Chandra Mahapatra. However, the left hand with the *varada*-gesture has the thumb turned out and not in as would be proper. Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari holds an elephant goad *(ankusha)* and snake *(sarpa)* in her upper hands. The snake clearly forms two coils between her fingers.

Balabhadra/Ananta (see fig. 142), though white-complexioned and dressed in a contrasting dark blue *dhoti*, equals Jagannatha/Narayana, except that he holds in his lower left hand a plough and his green halo is formed by a seven-hooded cobra.

Triptych 19 was purchased in Paikarai Mahapatra's workshop in Jayapur in 1978.[102] The three panels (fig. 145–147) were ready, painted but had not yet had split bamboo attached for installing. They were unused and waiting for a call from one of the local Jagannatha temples. They are crude versions of the earlier set, sharing with it the iconography and colour scheme. The shrines are much more simplified, and also the faces and hands of the three deities are much less delicately painted. The lines are crude and the colours roughly laid. Nevertheless, details like the wrongly placed hand with the *abhaya* gesture of Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari, her strange mode of wearing the sari, the halo behind her head mixing with the sari, and the male deities' broad but rounded torsos, their brahmanical string *(upavita)*, the lotus bud, the twice-coiled snake, and the upper hands holding attributes with only the two middle fingers, all speak for considering this set as a late version of work in the Paralakhemandi workshop tradition and its extension to Jayapur in the early 20th century.

Triptychs	**Set 3 Puri**	**Set 7 Manpur**	**Set 8 Berhampur**	**Set 13 Dharakote**	**Set 16 Paralakemandi**	**Set 18 Jayapur**
Night Sky	Light blue sky with stars	Black with single stars		Black sky with moon and sun	Dark blue with white garland	Dark blue with white garland
Shrine	3-tired shrine with lotus bud top	Flat roof with canopy	Flat roof?	3-tired shrine with flat roof	3-tired flat roof	Flat roof with canopy
Pedestal	Small double lotus-seat, unattached to pillars	Double lotus seat, unattached	Drumshaped seat, unattached	Rectangular seat, unattached	Double lotus seat, part of shrine	Double lotus seat, part of shrine
Backdrop *(tahia)*	—	Rectangular with arched top	Ovalshaped	—	Rectangular with trifoil arch	Leaf-shaped
Crown	*mukuta* with 13 petals and center jewel	*mukuta* with triangles, pearls and centre jewel	Cap-crown *(topikirita)*	Cap-crown *(topikirita)*	High crown *(topikirita)*	*mukuta* crown with 4 petals
Crocodile heads *(makara)*	Abstract heads	Very abstract heads	No heads	With heads	Abstract heads	Abstract heads
Earrings	Circular rings *(jhumpa)* with abstract *makara* heads and pendants	Large *makara kundala* (full animals)	Circular rings *(jhumpa)* with pendants	Rings with *makara*-heads		
Balabhadra: One with human head and datura flower	Ring with *makara*-heads and pearls	Ring with *makara*-heads and pearls				
Jagannatha / Narayana						
Face	«Old», white beard and moustache	Yellow beard and moustache		Youthful, no beard and no moustache	Black beard and moustache, yellow lines	No beard (?)
Eyes	Elliptic eye, eyeballs centred	Round-elliptic eye, eyeball centred		Normal		
Eyeballs centred	Round-elliptic, eyeballs centred	Round-elliptic, eyeballs lowered				
Forehead mark *(tilaka)*	U-shaped with dot (Vishnu mark)	V-shaped, ends broadened, inside vertical mark with dot and dot attached to base (Ramanandi mark)		U-shaped with dot (Vishnu mark)	V-shaped with dot at base and red inside (Ramanandi mark)	V-shaped with dot at base and red inside (Ramanandi mark)
Attendants	Seven rishis	None		Indra and Shiva	None	None
Balabhadra / Ananta						
Emblems	Ploughshare upwards	Ploughshare downwards		No plough, but a second club	Ploughshare upwards	Ploughshare upwards
Attendant figures	Shiva and Narada	None		Narada and Brahma	None	None
Subhadra / Bhuvaneshvari						
Emblems	2 lotuses	Elephant hook *(ankusha)* and scarf *(pasha)*	2 lotuses	2 lotuses	Hook *(ankusha)* and snake *(sarpa)*	Hook *(ankusha)* and snake *(sarpa)*

60 Mohanty, 1980, pl. 4 states that the painter Narayana Mahapatra was photographed in 1975 "with an old *anasara patti*". This is the one for Jagannatha that was photographed/collected for the Calico Museum during Mohanty's documentation tour for his publication. It is likely that this painting had been used in the Jagannatha temple the previous year.
61 The picture of Jagannatha/Narayana was first published by Fischer–Pathy, 1980, fig. 496 and the entire triptych by Das, 1982, pls. 1–3.
62 It has been published in Fischer–Pathy, 2001, fig. 9.
63 First published by Rossi, 1998, 73, see Sotheby's sale London May 31, 2011, lot 154.
64 Rösel, 1988, book cover. This sociologist did his fieldwork in Puri in 1970, but it is likely that the *anasara pati* used for his book was collected in the mid-1980s.
65 Since these "single" icons are often placed in such a way that everybody can view them and the worship of a single icon is less demanding than that of the triad, such temples are common in rural areas.
66 A *pati* painting by the locally renowned father of this painter was acquired for the Orissa State Museum in 1972, see Mohanty, 1980, 8.
67 Interestingly, the proportion lines in the *citrakara* sketchbook (see fig. 153) published originally by Das, 1982, fig. 80 defines the top of the crown and the forehead, then the placement of the mouth and the two upper hands, the navel and the two lower hands. The lowest line for the knees above the pedestal is missing.
68 It is entirely possible that this "beard" originally reflected facial painting as is common on South Indian sculptures and for actors/dancers. Here the lines around the cheeks and chin can indicate a "frame" (called *cutti* in Malayalam). Drawn or applied "from ear to ear", it helps the viewer to concentrate on the facial expression.
69 The folds take on somewhat the shape of the full-blown lotus, on which the deity sits in other versions.
70 This sequence of emblems corresponds (according to the *Rupamandana* text) within the 24 *murtis* of Vishnu to the icons of Madhava and not to Narayana. See Rao, 1914, vol. I, 1, 229, also 231.
71 No specific narrative is known to us which connects the visit of seven ascetics *(rishis)* to Puri.
72 The goddess Durga Mahishasuramardini is also of yellow complexion.
73 For a juvenile Balarama dancing with a snake on his head, see Fischer–Pathy, 1980, fig. 501.
74 Ananta, "endless", is a name of the Shesha snake, on which Vishnu reclines. Balarama is regarded as incarnation of the Ananta snake. He is also considered the "remainder" of Vishnu's unmanifested divine power.
75 For a similar depiction of Shiva, juxtaposed to Brahma, on a Puri temple plan, see Fischer–Pathy, 1980, fig. 485.
76 In several *Mahatmya* texts, the seer Narada appears. Once, for instance, Narada visited Puri and, playing his *vina*, danced in front of Jagannatha who was delighted. Finally, Narada received temple food *(prasad)* and was then mysteriously united while alive with the deity, see Schneider, 1984, 43. Narada is also the advisor of King Indradyumna, informing him about which wood is to be used for the icon of Jagannatha, see Geib, 1975, 83, 85.
77 For Indradyumna as the legendary finder and installer of the Jagannatha icon, see Geib, 1975, 31–33 and Eschmann–Kulke–Tripathi, 1978, 64ff, 166ff, 191ff. The *Skanda purana* narrates that the seer Narada informed the Pandava-hero Arjuna of the generous king, Indradyumna.
78 See Tripathi, 2004, 5.
79 This amulet is traditionally given in Orissa to young men to enhance their virility and to strengthen their fighting power.
80 This pendant, in Sanskrit *vyaghranakha*, is, however, mentioned in the *Mahapurushavidya* text as one of the decorations on the Jagannatha's breast, see Schneider, 1984, 33.
81 Bundgaard, 1999, 104 mentions the application of a colour in several shades as a "modern stylistic introduction". This is generally true, but we could not detect any such indication on *anasara* pictures prepared for the Puri temple.
82 We appreciate the help of the modern painter Nakula Maharana, son of Nityananda Mahapatra.
83 This reminds one of the Lakshminarayana stone relief from the Chaurasi temple of the 13th century, see Eschmann–Kulke–Tripathi, 1978, fig. 51. The consorts sit to the left of the gods as does Lakshmi to Vishnu, see Tripathi, 1978, 55.
84 From this same painter are also the pictures of Shiva and Parvati, see figs. 149, 150.
85 This detail corresponds with the mode of depiction employed also by his nephew in Triptych 10 (see fig. 122, 123).
86 In this town exist a large number of *citrakara* workshops, mostly engaged in the production of cement sculptures.
87 The image of Subhadra/Bhuvaneshvari has great similarity to the depiction of the goddess Mangala in *Osakothi* paintings from the Mathura-based workshops, only replacing her pots by lotus buds, see Fischer–Pathy, 1996, fig. 125.
88 This physical constitution of the image corresponds with the painter's own!
89 Balarama's inebriation is famous. He got drunk from wine extracted from flowers of a Kadamba tree and then molested with his plough the river goddess Yamuna.
90 Shiva is the great yogi and renouncer.
91 One can recognize the "eyes" on the body of this four-armed god.
92 He stands with one foot in front and his left hand is raised to his *vina*'s neck.
93 He is clearly four-headed and has a drum-shaped manuscript in his upper left hand.
94 See p. 93.
95 For his work and technique see Fischer–Pathy, 1980, 268, pls. 505–507, 611–613, 620–653.
96 Mohanty, 1980, 7, reports that the Raja of Paralakhemandi had settled painters from Puri in his residence town when a Jagannatha temple was built there. He states that a *citrakara* by the name of "Kabi Harekrushna Mahapatra from Puri was taken there", and that "at present the seventh generation of this painter's descendants are working in Paralakhemandi." According to epigraphy this Jagannatha temple of Paralakhemandi existed already in 1745 A.D. (Mahapatra, 1977, 52).
97 Mohanty, 1980, 7, mentions that two more painters, Narasingha Mahapatra and Krishna Chandra Mahapatra, were also producing *anasara patis* in Paralakhemandi (in 1980).
98 This indicates – like her emblems – her connection with Shiva.
99 See also Fischer–Pathy, 1980, pl. 506.
100 This triptych could well be the work of one of the "other two painters of Paralakemandi" mentioned by Mohanty, 1980, 7.
101 Many of these details correspond to the Dadhivamana icon painted in Jayapur, see fig. 107, 148.
102 See also Fischer–Pathy, 1980, figs. 492–494.

Similarities and Differences of Puri and South Orissan *Anasara Pati* Triptychs

Since *anasara patis* are ritual paintings for the Jagannatha cult, they all have to display certain canonical features to be acceptable for priests and temple authorities.[103] It is obvious that narrative pictures or illustrations of poetry give the painters more freedom to express their visual ideas or preferences than these icons. It is therefore rather unexpected that iconographic differences in attributes and colour schemes exist. For instance it is surprising that Balarama has a blue *dhoti* in most pictures except in Digapahandi where it is yellow, or that this deity is always bearded except, again, in paintings by that local workshop. Major differences between pictures from Puri workshops and South Orissan ones can be listed, excluding the most astonishing deviation from the Puri scheme, namely the *anasara pati* from Berhampur where the male gods are shown with their spouses.

103 In South Orissa, the Jagannatha temple authorities were formerly installed by the local rulers. Their ministers (*divan*) appointed persons rendering the temple-service (*seva*) and checked on their work.

	Puri	South Orissa
Jagannatha/ Narayana		
	White beard	Black beard
	Full lotus	Lotus buds
Subhadra/ Bhuvaneshvari		
	Two lotus flowers	Elephant hook *(ankusha)* and snake or cloth *(pasha)*
	White sari	Blue sari
Balabhadra/ Ananta		
	Small snake on crown	Imposing snake hoods over head
	Small adoring Shiva	No side-figures
	Black beard	In Digapahandi no beard
	Sitting on high pedestals	Sitting on cushions on flat pedestals

Differences of iconographic details between works from Puri and South Orissa



Fig. 148 Dadhivamana icon in Gunpur, 1978

Appendix 1

Paintings for "Single Jagannatha" Icons

Icons of a "single Jagannatha" (i.e. without accompanying images of his siblings Balabhadra and Subhadra) are found in some temples, especially at smaller residences of feudal landlords *(zamindars)* or kings *(gadajata)*, who were vassals to the Puri dynasty.[104] These icons are called in Puri Patitapavana ("redeemer/purifier of the fallen") and in South Orissa Dadhivamana.[105] The name "Patitapavana" had been given first only to a specific, single icon that is fixed near the main entrance to the Jagannatha temple complex in Puri, visible for everyone from outside.[106] The temple priests offer the wooden image flowers daily but not cooked food from the time it has been installed: this happened when King Ramacandra deva II of Puri (1727–1736) married a Muslim woman for which he had to convert to Islam.[107] Consequently, he was barred entrance to the temple. But for the King of Puri a new cult image was created and installed at the main gate, which he and other excluded devotees could see without entering and desecrating the holy temple complex.

For this specific icon, which is not given baths and is not taken from the pedestal for the car festival, no specific *anasara pati* is prepared in Puri. In South Orissa, however, where quite a number of temples with single Jagannatha icons exist, single *anasara patis* are painted annually. The deity represented on cloth is called Nilamadhava.[108] His iconography corresponds by and large with that of Jagannatha/Narayana of the triptych representation. The name, however, indicates a close connection with Krishna.

All *citrakara* workshops produce single-Jagannatha *patis* (see figs. 39, 50), usually smaller in size and simpler than the Jagannatha/Narayana *anasara patis*. They are painted not exclusively for local Jagannatha temples but quite often we found that the painters also keep these pictures in their own homes as representations of Jagannatha. Why the *citrakaras* prefer for their own use pictures of Jagannatha in the "classical" iconography (i.e. as Narayana or Nilamadhava) to the form of Jagannatha as the wooden cult image that they sell in large quantity to pilgrims is an interesting question that cannot be answered.

We know of a beautiful Dadhivamana/Nilamadhava painting from Jayapur (see fig. 107), which might have been made by Shimhadri Maharana c. 1960 and was with one of the local *citrakara* workshops when we photographed it first. It measures 60 × 43 cm and has split bamboos fixed horizontally at top and bottom for hanging it for ceremonial use. The surface of this painting is lacquered to make the picture durable and thus fit for several periods of worship.

Dadhivamana/Nilamadhava is seated on a two-tiered lotus pedestal and has a green halo. The image has a round face with two large ears wearing a pair of crocodile-shaped earrings *(makara kundala)*. On his left ear he is adorned in addition with a jewel-studded ring. Unlike in Puri paintings, the deity wears a flower garland *(vanamala)* of yellow and white *sevati* and *malli* flowers. He sports a short moustache, a thin beard and double-chin marks. Prominent in the face are two large eyes rimmed red with big pupils, and the U-shaped forehead mark, dotted at the bottom and containing a red vertical mark.

Dadhivamana/Nilamadhava carries attributes of an archaic look, with scarves attached only to the disc and conch. His swelling chest is marked with the red footprint sign on his right side. Besides the waistcloth, issuing on both sides, he has tassels hanging from the waist.

104 Here this icon may often have replaced autochthonous "wooden gods" worshipped by the local Adivasi population and also by the royal families especially in South Orissa. According to von Stietencron, 1978, 74, the Puri temple might have been built "with the intention of combining in it the cult of the Wooden God with that of Purshottama ... 'King Codaganga deva's' wife erected 'in Tekkali' a temple that was dedicated to Dadhivamana 'in 1150'."

105 This is most probably "a distorted Sanskrit adaptation of the original name of the Wooden God and ... its original form must be sought for in the languages of the tribals of Orissa and northern Andhra Pradesh," von Stietencron, 1978, 63.

106 Entrance to the Jagannatha temple in Puri is prohibited to members of low castes and all non-Hindus.

107 See Kulke, 1979, 187.

108 The term Nilamadhava appears in the famous Indradyumna legends, especially of the *Brahma purana* (see Geib, 1975, 4ff): it is the heart of Krishna which had turned into a blue-black stone and was worshipped in Puri, a long time before the wooden icon was installed, see also Das, 1982, 27. For a discussion of "Madhava" and "Nilamadhava", see Tripathi, 1978, 477ff.

Appendix 2

Pictures as Temporary Replacements of Other Icons

Replacing three-dimensional temple icons temporarily with paintings is rare in India but not unique to the Jagannatha temples of Orissa. This happens also in the small Shiva temple of the village Kamalpur, about five kilometres south of Digapahandi (in Ganjam District). Shiva is worshipped there in the form of a *linga* under the name of Kashivishvanatha (also called locally Nuamahaprabhu). As the names suggest, this is not an ancient Shiva temple, but nobody knows when it was founded. The stone *linga* worshipped in this temple is placed way below ground level, about eight to ten feet deep. As a result, this cult icon is submerged annually during the rainy season and the devotees are then barred from paying reverence. This is felt to be a particular loss in these periods of misery, when divine help is especially needed. Therefore the management of the temple procures two paintings annually, one of Shiva and one of Parvati from one of the *citrakara* workshops in Digapahandi, and fixes them on the outside entrance gate for worship *(darshan)* by the devotees. Since the two pictures are always weathered by the strong rains, they have to be painted anew every year, thus assuming the function and "status" of a shaiva *anasara pati* diptych.

The available diptych of Shiva and Parvati *patis* (27 × 22 cm) was painted in the workshop of Lakshmikanta Mahapatra, the master *citrakara* of Digapahandi in 1992 (see fig. 149, 150). Two thin wooden tablets were covered with cloth and roughly painted on a base prepared of chalk and tamarind paste. For Shiva's icon pigments of red, yellow, black and white were used, for Parvati in addition, blue.

Both Shiva and Parvati are sitting in *padmasana* posture in front of a red background in an arched structure. Both





Fig. 149–150 Diptych of Shiva and Parvati by Lakshmikanta Mahapatra of Digapahandi



Fig. 151 Gopinatha replacement *pati* for the Krishna icon in the Gopinatha *matha* in Dharakote, c. 2000

deities are four-armed and crowned. Shiva wears a tiger-skin and waistcloth and holds a trident *(trishula)*, thunderbolt *(vajra)*, noose *(pasha)* and "rosary" *(akshamala)*. Parvati is depicted four-armed, dressed in a blue sari, green blouse and a white waistcloth, and has lotus, deer, whip and arrow as attributes.

We were informed locally that it was the painter Lakshmikanta Mahapatra who instilled in the temple management the idea of worshipping paintings of the deities whenever the *linga* is out of view. He was certainly well aware of the *anasara pati* custom, because he himself was in charge of painting annually the picture for the local Dadhivamana (single Jagannatha) of his hometown Digapahandi (see for his other work figs. 122, 123). It is also pertinent that in this "stimulus diffusion" (i.e. taking up the idea of a temporary replacement of a sculpture by a painting and using it in another context) the un-iconic form of a cult image *(linga)* was also transformed in iconic images when painted as pictures.

A second, somewhat different, case for such a temporary replacement of a three-dimensional cult image by a painting (see fig. 151) can be given as follows:

The painter Yogindra Mahapatra of Dharakote (see figs. 44, 130–134) recently pointed out that he paints from time to time an *"anasara pati"* for the Gopinatha *matha*, a religious establishment in his hometown. Here the Krishna icon is of wood, the surface painted on a layer of cloth with pigment colours. Due to the daily worship, this sculpture sometimes needs to be repainted. When the painter takes the icon to his home to refresh its surface, he leaves a substitute in the shrine so that the priests can continue their daily ritualistic routine. This picture of Gopinatha he has painted especially for the local temple. There is no specific interval period for this process and no annual fixed date. In his workshop we were able to photograph the one before the last replacement picture he had made. It was about ten years old and was being kept by the painter in his workshop after having served its purpose in the temple and having been exchanged for a new version.

The small picture (32×24 cm) has two split bamboo sticks fixed at top and bottom to hang it in the shrine. Gopinatha, the flute-playing cowherd Krishna, stands on a rectangular pedestal under a flowering tree between two banana plants, with a cow licking his feet. He appears inside a shrine *(kunja)* under a canopy that looks similar to the painted wooden one, in which the wooden icon is installed. Sun and moon appear in the upper corners. It is a rough picture, fast but well drawn with a few bold colours and securely drawn outlines evoking Krishna, the vivid young blue god, crowned, dressed in a yellow *dhoti* and a shoulder cloth, adorned with earrings, bracelets, a sacred thread and the Ramanandi mark on his forehead. The beautiful *makara* head at the end of Gopinatha's flute may be noticed in the midst of the flowering branches!

Concluding Remarks

Viewing the sets of *anasara pati* paintings of Puri workshops over a period of approximately thirty years (i.e. one generation), beginning with 1978 and ending 2009, we arrive at the conclusion that iconographic as well as stylistic changes have occurred but are minimal. The reasons can be ascribed to the conservative atmosphere of all Jagannatha temples in Orissa and the Puri temple in particular, and the strict control of the rituals *(niti)* conducted for the deities enshrined. The *citrakara* painters devoutly follow the instructions of the temple authorities and their intentions strictly to stick to the fixed "eternal" patterns, fearing that they would inflict otherwise the wrath of the Brahmin class as well as deities. This system of faith and strict control obviously overrules any wish for painterly liberties.

In the workshops which produce the *anasara patis*, there is also constant checking for correctness: even though the masters *(hakim)*, who as appointed *sevakas* are responsible for delivering to the temple the ordered pictures assigned to them, do the measuring and fixing of proportions (see fig. 152) and draw the first layout sketch of the image, several more professional painters are involved in the actual execution of the work. All of them take this work rather seriously, and such a professional group checks constantly the proper fulfilment of the task. No individual would dare to introduce changes and it is likely that idiosyncratic elements are routed out immediately by this critical group. Nevertheless, some "mistakes" have happened and some iconographic changes have also occurred (see p. 71). It is not pos-

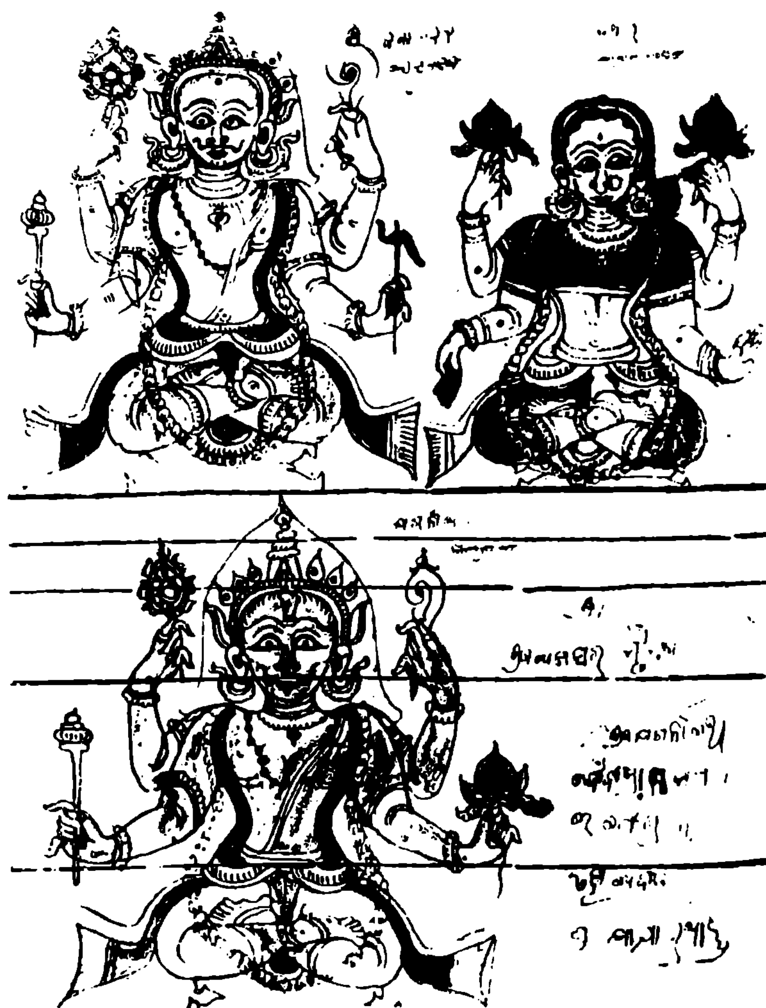


Fig. 152 *Anasara pati* sketches, unknown workshop in Puri

sible to ascribe these alterations to specific persons or situations with certainty. The most obvious ones, which, in fact, continue since they first appeared, concern the image of Subhadra / Bhuvaneshvari as prepared in Puri: here the position of the upper hands (the backs and not the palms are shown) and the form of the lotus flower that the goddess holds were changed but also her sari plaits have replaced the full-blown lotus she formerly was sitting on. It is likely that these changes have occurred since c. 1990 when Budha Maharana took over the *seva* of producing her image; these liberties might have been conceived as a kind of signal to his uncle Harihara that only he decides on the presentation of the goddess. Subsequently, the helping painters of his workshop accepted his introductions, and he upheld his authority in spite of being junior in age.

These minimal changes of non-crucial formal elements may very well have been intentionally introduced by the master, well remarked by the local circle of painters – but not creating flutter in the brahmanical circle that had to pass the *hakim*'s work.

Iconographical features of secondary figures and attendants are often diminutive in size and less important in rituals – i.e. *rishis*, the saint Narada or even gods like Brahma and Shiva are less strictly scrutinized by the official viewers whose emphasis is always focused on the main icons. Therefore, the contemporary fashion will be visible best in these side-figures. Here the "calendar art", the innovations by the State Handicraft Training Centre introducing more "vivid", naturalistic features and a larger palette of colours (see figs. 104–106) can be seen for instance in the depiction of Shiva with the snake around his neck. His image has changed quite a lot, and it is entirely possible that the popularity and social status of the painter Budha Maharana as art director in the film industry with feature films including some on Jagannatha, allow the Puri temple authorities to act less rigidly than under other circumstances.

It must be noted that the painters don't produce by tracing a direct copy from last year's original, which is not brought back to their workshop but is kept by the temple authorities. They work from memory and year-long practise. It is unlikely that a master ever consults iconographic sketches even though they were available in such family workshops. Details like that of a crown, the variety and types of necklaces and garlands etc. are obviously due to undergo changes. But all in all, both the Puri *hakim*'s memory as well as the comprehension of the local workshops' painters contribute to the maintaining of one and the same model of an image for a very long period of time. In future, however, it is quite likely that the work of their brother-painters trained at the State Handicraft Training Centre in Bhubaneswar will make inroads into these conservative practices.

Compared with the *anasara pata* triptychs from Puri masters, the equivalent pictures from South Orissa and Manpur / Tigiria are produced in distinctive local workshop styles. They, too, are made by masters – locally called *vindhani* – but usually single-handedly, without support by colleagues or employees from large workshops. Their works therefore display more idiosyncrasies and personal traits. At the same time, these "peripheral" Orissan workshops have not had to deal with the censorship of a highly sophisticated and conservative brahmanical temple authority (as in Puri) but with their local religious community, which may be of archaistic as well as liberal inclination, preferring on one hand the continuation of long-held conventions and on the other hand not minding the introduction of contemporary features. Here, iconographic details of a "pre-Jagannatha period" may occur along with the portrait features of some local actor or film hero. This is possible in the absence of the watchful eye of the priestly class, and more so since the withdrawal of the local aristocrats, the *zamindars* and *rajas*, and their brahmanical Rajagurus as patrons of the local Jagannatha temple and its festivities. They are replaced by a heterogeneous group of usually wealthy but not necessary religiously educated temple managers (see fig. 48) who neither have a trained eye for properly scrutinizing iconic pictures nor can rely on their memory of forms and details of the former year's images. Thus incoming patrons readily accept the *citrakaras'* works.

It is not astounding but needs to be pointed out that painters from South Orissa depict Subhadra / Bhuvaneshvari dressed in local fashion, i.e. not wearing a blouse but instead covering her bosom with a sari. The textile patterns also reflect local taste with a preference for circular forms and flower patterns as seen not only on saris but also on Niladmadhava's *dhoti* (see fig. 107).

In many erstwhile princely capitals like Jayapur, Paralakhemandi, Dharakote, Digapahandi and even Manpur, the Devi was worshipped and her presence was in fact supreme during several annual festivals, and this still continues to be so for the less urbane sector of the population. Here the painters have depicted for a very long period of time goddesses alone or in groups, even in combination with Shiva and even with Nilamadhava / Jagannatha. Such pictures of Durgamadhava (see fig. 153) were painted on cloth glued on boards of wood and were mainly worshipped in private

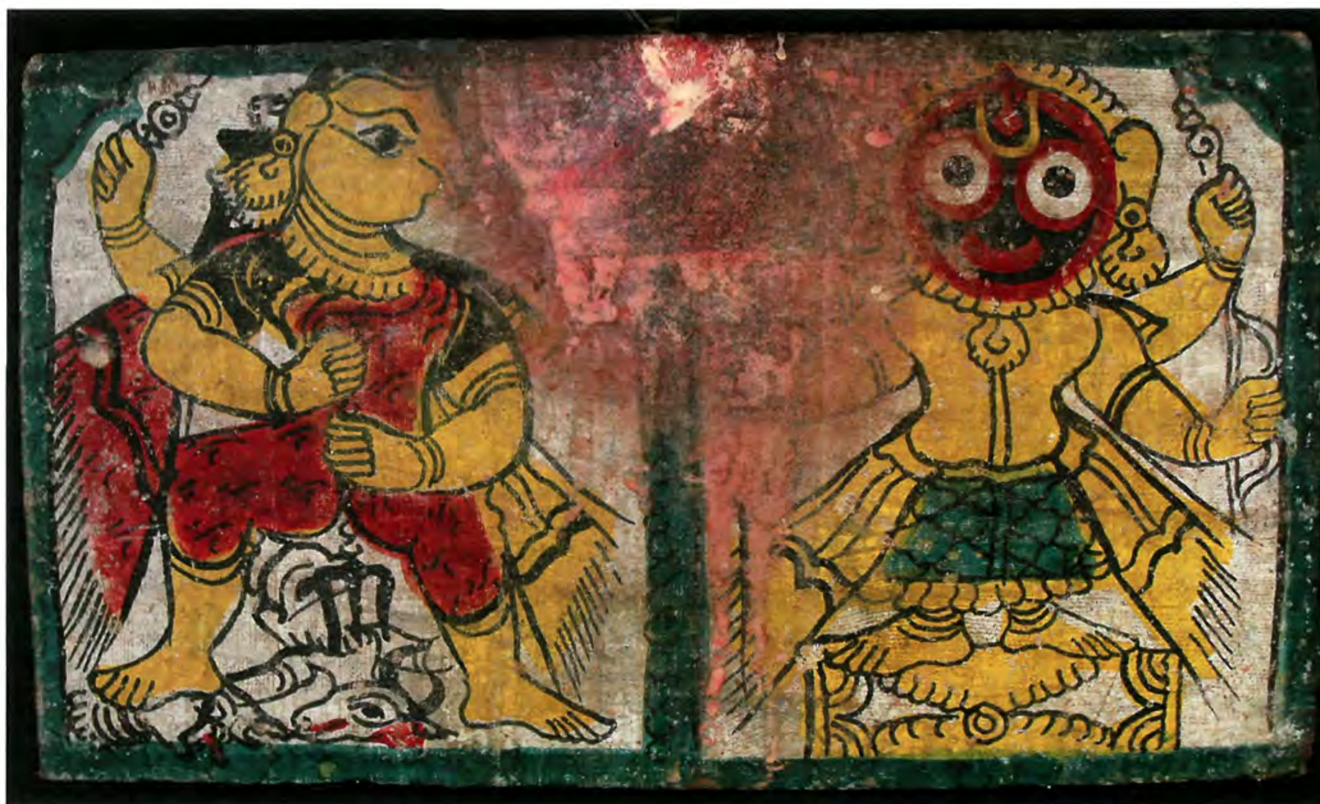


Fig. 153 Durgamadhava *pata* by Hari Panda, Purushottamapur (Ganja District), 1982

shrines. Here the goddess as Durga Mahishasuramardini is riding on a lion and slaying the demon with a trident, but holding disc *(cakra)* and conch *(shankha)* in her upper hands – both emblems associated mostly with Vishnu. To combine her with the single Jagannatha is a unique South Orissan painters' "invention", bringing the goddess in the orbit of the (new, late-coming) "Lord of the Universe", by presenting her with two of his weapons.

When Subhadra, Jagannatha's sister, was identified with Bhuvaneshvari, the goddess Durga, having the same yellow complexion, was obviously the choice of the South Orissan painters to become her model. Therefore we find on some of their painted icons a "third eye" on her forehead (by the Dharakote master) and several of her fierce weapons in her hands (by most painters). These *citrakaras* have furthermore restrained themselves from amalgamating traits of the goddess Lakshmi in their devi's images by adopting only lotus flowers as her emblems.

Part III

Reconstruction of a Historical Evolution of *Anasara Pati* Triptychs in Puri

With the following we try to explain why two entirely different iconographies currently are in use – side by side – for representing Jagannatha,[109] the "Lord of the Universe", when he is worshipped in Puri as a triad with his siblings Subhadra and Balabhadra. We brought together whatever source material we could find relevant to the art history of these icons. Based on rather limited evidence such an attempt must remain inconclusive and can only be a first attempt. We hope to open herewith the iconographic discussion without any claim of having found the "historic truth". But major issues are touched upon and some assumptions are made which throw light on the historic reasons why *anasara* pictures with such a different iconography – possibly – came into existence to replace Jagannatha icons temporarily.

Once a year the temporary transformation of the highly stylized "tribal" and "un-human" looking *(apurusha)* icons into classical, human-featured replacements happens in the Jagannatha temple of Puri (and elsewhere in Orissa). This means that abstract, three-dimensional wooden cult images of Jagannatha and his siblings Subhadra and Balabhadra are exchanged with realistic, four-armed but human-featured, two-dimensional paintings now worshipped as cult images of Narayana, Bhuvaneshvari and Ananta. Then, when the gods of the wooden triad are declared ill and out of function, their temporary replacement pictures are worshipped instead of them, not with identical rituals but with very similar ones, which are adjusted only for the special "health" conditions of the gods.



Fig. 154 *Citrakara* master painting the Jagannatha triad in Raghurajpur, 1978

During this fortnight, not only is the visual appearance of the deities[110] temporarily completely changed but also their appellation. Other aspects of the divinities than the usual ones are then expressed. These additional qualities seem to have been introduced in order to appeal to pilgrims of another, possibly non-local strata of society. Jagannatha ("Lord of the Universe") is called during the *anasara* period Narayana ("Universal Abode"),[111] a name that is especially encountered in many brahmanical texts and a term with which the Orissan Ganga kings of the 13th/14th centuries already addressed their family deity.[112] Subhadra, Krishna's sister, is then equalized with Bhuvaneshvari ("Lady of the Spheres"), a powerful goddess of the Mahavidya group, and Balabhadra, Krishna's elder brother Balarama, is now called Ananta ("Endless"), denoting the great snake on which Vishnu not only reclines but that also manifests all the remaining power that the creator of the universe has not invested in the cosmos. With these new names, no doubt the universal aspect of the Vishnu triad is proclaimed.

What could have been the reason for this astonishing change of appearances and names of Jagannatha and his two divine siblings? Did it come about for technical reasons? Is there an intrinsic theological concept? Are there any indications in the historical records, giving hints for a beginning of these temporary changes that continue to be practised up till today?

Obviously, it was not a technical problem for the *citrakara* painters to paint the appearance of the wooden Jagannatha triad on canvas (see fig. 154). They regularly produced such images in any format as *jatri* pictures for pilgrims in countless variations, qualities and sizes. The *citrakaras* were neither forbidden by the priests to enter the temple and see the icons nor to produce paintings in the likeliness of the wooden Jagannatha statue. For the *anasara* sets, however, they must have been – once in history – instructed to produce "realistic", detailed pictures of the three deities with a specific iconography according to the requirement of the Puri temple authorities, i.e. the king and/or the temple priests.[113]

In the Puri temple, only members of one group of temple servants, the Daitapatis *(data mahapatras)* were and still are authorized to touch and paint the wooden Jagannatha icons,[114] with the exception of the icon's eyes, which is the privilege of a special family of Puri priests.[115] These Daitapatis would certainly also have been able to produce pictures on cloth reflecting the shape of the wooden Puri triad, even though painting on a three-dimensional format is comparatively easier than projecting cubic forms on a flat canvas. But



Fig. 155 The Jagannatha icon depicted as a mural in Paralakhemandi (c. 1925/50)



Fig. 156 The Jagannatha triad in *ganesha vesa*.
Mural at the Virinchi Narayana temple in Buguda c. 1820

being of tribal extraction it is likely that the Daitapatis of earlier generations were unwilling or considered unable to conceive the triad in a "classical" iconography when, at a particular but unrecorded point of time in the history of the Jagannatha cult, the need for an additional iconic represen-



Fig. 157 Worship of the Jagannatha triad. Mural at Sri Kurma temple, 19th century (Srikurmam, Andhra Pradesh)

tation arose and new aspects of the divine triad were to be emphasized.

The time span of two weeks allotted to the Daitapatis to paint the three wooden icons seems unusually long considering the artistry involved in this painting work is minimal. The appointed Daitapati family members take up their work leisurely, according to the requirement of the clearly structured, annually repeated ritual. It is therefore likely that the temple authorities and Puri priest communities had a vested interest to artificially extend the *anasara* period of projecting the *anasara patis* longer for the pilgrims who flock to Puri from the time of the *snana jatra* till the spectacular car festival commences.

We should therefore consider the possibility that these fifteen days of viewing Jagannatha and his divine partners in another appearance could have served (and still serves) specific theological purposes and also answers the economic needs of the Puri establishment: for centuries, the Puri authorities have felt inclined to attract all types of devotees who do an all-India pilgrimage even if they are affiliated with non-Vaishnava creeds and other religious groups such as Shaiva, Shakta and Ganapatya. The *anasara* period, with the possibility of replacing for a limited period of time the icons with images displaying iconographic traits different from the established ones, offered a unique chance to draw "religious outsiders" into their fold: by showing for instance to the orthodox Vaishnava-devotee with a "classical"-looking replacement icon that Jagannatha is none other than Mahavishnu, though with uncommon features, and to a *shakta* pilgrim that Subhadra is the *Devi*, the Great Goddess that he or she may customarily worship at home as Thakurani now addressed with the epithet Bhuvaneshvari (which can be used for several goddesses). The deity Balabhadra offers even more possibilities for interpretation, because white-skinned and intoxicated as he is, he reminded the devotees of Shiva or, crowned with a snake, of Ananta/Vasudeva.

This temporary change of a "tribal" look to a more "universal" Vaishnava iconography in a classical brahmanical style may therefore have served a similar purpose as dressing the icons with elephant masks and thus associating Jagannatha with Ganesha. This special appearance (see p. 19) was institutionalized to attract Ganapatyas, the South Indian and Maratha worshippers of Ganesha, in the mid-17th century.[116] It was agreed that once a year Jagannatha is dressed in *ganesha vesa* to look similar to the elephant-headed god (see fig. 156), but the icon with this special outfit was not to be integrated into Jagannatha's regular worship inside the sanctum but only displayed on the fringe of the temple compound, where the popular appearance could be seen by a large crowd – pilgrims of all castes and origins. This masking of Jagannatha as Ganesha was therefore cleverly interpolated between the final bath and the *anasara* period because this time span was considered somewhat irregular, permitting changes and adjustments more easily than the strictly regulated ritualistic routine.

The *anasara* period, during which Jagannatha was not visible to the public, now offered the Puri priests another time gap for the interpolation of another form *(rupa)* of the God of the Universe: Jagannatha could now also appear as Narayana, who is the Bhagavat, the benign Lord, whose appearance for a devotee in a vision is not identical with his form as the Puri icon.



Fig. 158 *Kamalapati* Vishnu, painted wooden sculpture in the Raghunatha temple in Jayantigada



Fig. 159 Vishnu with the face of Jagannatha.
Relief on a wooden door in the Jagannatha temple of Belagunta

It might therefore be useful to quote at the outset that in the *Mahapurushavidya* text,[117] a eulogy of Jagannatha, this god's real form *(svarupa)*, the "basic appearance" (gestalt) of Vishnu, is described as a superbly beautiful male body, *kamalapati*, dark like a cloud or a sapphire, with lotus feet (which have *shankha* and *cakra* inscribed) wearing foot-rings as well as sandals, who has legs like an elephant, a navel "turning to the right" with three folds, a neck also adorned by three folds, a smiling chin, "nostrils, which exhale the entire vedic and post-vedic literature", eyes which bring salvation, eyebrows that destroy all kinds of anguish. His hair consists of locks, long and dark like blue sapphire and is covered by a fine cloth. He wears a diadem crown (*mukuta*), two kinds of earrings, the *kaustabha* jewel on a necklace and the *shrivatsa*-rhomb on his breast, one garland of wildflowers and one of lotuses, a tiger-claw pendant, the brahmanical cord (which distinguishes him as the Lord of Offerings) and a pearl necklace. In his right hand he carries the *cakra*, in his left the *shankha*. With both other hands, "he rescues all human beings fallen in the *samsara*-ocean". Like a great king he wears a girdle and a waistcloth (see for example fig. 158), the colour varying according to the day: red like the rising sun is for Sundays, white like autumn moon rays for Mondays, red like the *japa* flower for Tuesdays, white for Wednesdays, yellow for Thursdays, moon-coloured for Fridays, sapphire-blue for Saturdays.

This description or interpretation of Narayana's appearance comes very close to the depiction of Jagannatha/ Narayana on the Puri-painted *anasara patis*. This fact indicates that these pictures were appealing to all groups of well-read pilgrims and brahmanical devotees from all over India. It is, however, clear that the Puri authorities had no interest in having large numbers of visitors flocking in front of

> Fig. 160 Entrance to the Alarnath *matha* near Puri, 2011






Fig. 161–163 Vishnu, the cult icon of the Alarnath *matha* (devotional prints, c. 2010)

the *anasara patis*, displayed in the more or less closed sanctum of the Jagannatha temple. At the same time, the Puri pandas were interested in providing the devotees with *mahaprasad*, which was and still is their major source of income from the pilgrim trade. It is therefore conceivable that they intentionally announced that it was "inauspicious" or even harmful for pilgrims to visit Jagannatha in the Puri temple during the *anasara* period,[118] but advisable to visit instead another Vishnu temple in the neighbourhood and take the offerings for the Lord there. In fact, during the *anasara* period, the temple priests of Puri point the devotees to the religious establishment *(matha)* of Allavandara Acarya (i.e. the saint Ramanuja also called Alavelanatha, Alvarnath[119] or Alarnath) for viewing their god (for having *darshan*). This South Indian establishment (see fig. 160) is in the vicinity of Puri town. Here, an important stone icon of Vishnu is worshipped. "This image of (Shriman-) Narayana[120] (Lord Jagannatha) became famous in the name of Allavandara natha. From [Ramanuja's] times, it is the custom for pilgrims to visit this deity during the *anavasara* period."[121]

According to local legend,[122] this identification of Jagannatha with Narayana is ascribed to Ramanuja, who became aware of this connection during his visit to Puri in the 12th century. It is narrated[123] that the great saint had arrived in Puri during the *anasara* period and was not granted permission by the temple priests to have *darshan*. The saint was deeply worried and so much overwhelmed by sorrow that he decided to commit suicide in the sea. But in a vision Lord Jagannatha appeared to him in his momentary, disfigured condition. This was most painful for the saint to see. His reaction satisfied Jagannatha, and he made himself visible a second time, now in all his splendour and with his emblems. And this appearance is now worshipped as the stone icon Allavandaranatha (i.e. Narayana/Jagannatha) on the site (i.e. Alarnath *matha*) where Ramanuja had his vision. In addition, it is very likely that the iconography of this important



black stone sculpture also became the base for the painted representation of Narayana, for the *anasara pati* in the Jagannatha temple in Puri.[124]

Since the Alvarnath *matha* has such an extraordinary significance for the Jagannatha cult during the *anasara* period and its icon for the visual formulation of the *anasara* picture of Jagannatha / Narayana, it is necessary to pull together the scanty information[125] available to us on the importance and the history of the place. The following summarizes mainly information supplied by the propaganda brochure of Dayalhari Das (no date), produced in Oriya for the establishment.

Alvarnath – locally pronounced and known as Alarnath, Alavelanath or Alalanath – is a religious establishment *(matha)*, situated about twenty kilometres south of Puri along the seacoast. The administrators of the site claim that it was known earlier as Brahmagiri, because, according to a local legend, Brahma once meditated here to have a vision of Vishnu.[126] It is also believed that Brahma descended again on this spot, when King Indradyumna – the founder of the Jagannatha cult – had invited him to participate in the consecration of the first temple for Jagannatha. Because of the sanctity of the site, a group of Alvars, devotees of Vishnu from South India,[127] installed and worshipped here a four-armed standing Vishnu icon as Bhagavat. This supposedly had already happened before the South Indian saint Ramanuja visited Puri in the 12th century and stayed at this establishment for some time.[128] Alarnath was already then the site where Vishnu was worshipped according to brahmanical instruction.

The Alarnath icon (see figs. 161–163) is the relief of a standing Vishnu[129] of the Janardana[130] type holding in the two upper hands as emblems the flaming disc *(cakra)* and the conch *(shankha)*, both in side view and held above the fingertips, while the lower ones show a lotus flower *(padma)* and hold the mace *(gada)*. It is said to be 5.5 feet (i.e. 165 cm) high, is carved in hard black stone and adorned with an arch *(torana)* that is supported by large *makara* heads at the height of the deity's upper emblems. This trefoil cusped arch is based on South Indian prototypes. At the base Vishnu is flanked by two graceful goddesses, locally interpreted as Sridevi and Bhudevi, and adored by two small females at the sides at the height of his upper arms. On top of the arch – the brochure claims – figures of Brahma and Shiva are placed, whereas Garuda is kneeling at Vishnu's feet. Furthermore, in this icon Vishnu places his left hand on the mace while his right hand is raised in *abhaya mudra* (showing only a tiny lotus mark on his palm).[131] This is contradictory to the general appearance of the Janardana reliefs in Orissa,[132] where the lower right hand is always depicted with the *varada mudra*.

It is difficult to establish a date for this Vishnu image, but it could well be of an early period. Since the icon is in worship, its features are not easy to make out. The face is regularly given fine make-up of white lines on a base of sandalwood paste, framing the eyes and mouth in shapes very much corresponding with what we nowadays interpret as the "white beard" seen painted on the face of Jagannatha / Narayana on *anasara patis*, which is possibly meant to be only a kind of "*chutti*" frame (as used as facial make-up in Kutiyattam and Kathakali performances in Kerala) to help the viewer concentrate on the facial expression. On the forehead, there is the prominent Ramanandi U-shaped mark with dots inside.

The Alarnath temple also owns processional icons of bronze, figures of Madanmohan, Balarama and Krishna, and



Fig. 164 Shrine of the goddess Lakshmi, Alarnath *matha*, 2011



Fig. 165 The goddess Bhuvaneshvari in the Jagannatha temple, Puri (devotional print, c. 2010)

also one Patitapavana, single Jagannatha – and an image of a goddess (Lakshmi) but not a reference to the triad. Similarly to Puri, there is probably also an additional larger (wooden?) Patitapavana statue at the entrance of the *matha* already visible from the outside. On the day of *Jyestha purnima* (full moon day in June) the *snana purnima* bathing festival is also observed in the Alarnath temple, when its Patitapavana images are given the ritual bath.

There is no doubt that the establishment of the Alarnath *matha* is ancient, its main icon of great sanctity and a major attraction to pilgrims, especially from South India. When the Jagannatha triad of the Puri temple is in the *anasa(va)ra* condition, all devotees are advised to go to Alarnath to view the god *(darshan)* there. During this fifteen-day period, the food offered to the deity *(mahaprasad)* at that establishment is considered equal to what is otherwise exclusively prepared and distributed in the Puri temple, where during this period the temple kitchen is closed. However, now it is made available here, prepared by the same cooks and sold in similar conditions by the priests from Puri to the devotees.[133] At this time there is a great rush of pilgrims to Alarnath, and therefore the *anasa(va)ra* period is considered the main festival time of Narayana at this temple.

The strange fact that *mahaprasad* from the Jagannatha temple is available also at Alarnath *matha* is explained by a local legend, narrating that once upon a time "twelve hundred South Indian Brahmins known as *Koma*-Brahmins were engaged in the worship of the Vishnu icon at Alarnath. But once they committed some blunder in the performance of their ritualistic duties and they all perished. Vishnu in the form of Alarnath then appeared to King Purushottama deva in a dream and told him to engage from now on only servants from the Jagannatha temple in Puri for his worship.[134] Since then the same ceremonies and festivals are performed in both temples."

It seems – taking the main points of this oral tradition as plausible – that there was – centuries ago – conflict and rivalry between the Oriya priests in Puri and the South Indian Vaishnava Brahmins at Alarnath *matha* with their inclination towards *bhakti* devotion for Vishnu. At some point in time, the Puri Brahmins won the fight and took over the control of the temple of this *matha* including the worship of the Vishnu–Narayana icon installed there. It is entirely possible that this had happened already during the kingship of Purushottama deva as the legend narrates. Like all the other Suryavamshi kings of the 15th century he showed great interest in the Ja-

gannatha cult and took care of the well being of the Puri priests, whom he had previously bribed to support him in gaining the throne. It is possible that during the Suryavamshi reign, the Alarnath *matha* has faced some calamities and the king intervened and – supporting the Puri panda's interests – decreed that the worship of Vishnu should not only be the same in both temples but in addition was to be performed only by members of the Puri priests' families. From that time, the South Indian Koma Brahmins were excluded from their traditional rights at Alarnath. They dispersed and had to settle in places other than the *matha* in Puri's vicinity. Their community enjoys high status up to the present day, but most of them still live outside the orbit of Puri.

Alarnath at Brahmagiri was still an important place, when – once more according to Oriya (oral) tradition – the other eminent *bhakta*-saint Caitanya arrived in Puri and also stayed at Alarnath,[135] probably again because of friction with the Puri priests. It is entirely possible that in this saint's time (16th century), the Alarnath *matha* was still somewhat "distanced" from the Puri establishment, and devotees who were not entirely in tune with the official theology of the Puri pandas preferred to stay at this not too far away place.

In the *Caitanya Caritamruta* – a text on the life of the saint Caitanya written by his devotees a century after his death – the following incident is narrated: when Caitanya had given up his life as a householder, he went to Puri very eager to pay homage to Jagannatha. "When he had entered the temple compound and saw Jagannatha he lost control of his senses, a trance that had an ever lasting effect on him:[136] He realized his inseparable bond with Jagannatha. However, the temple servants thought him mentally sick and were going to throw him out. Luckily, Vasudeva Sarvabhauma, a great Vedanta scholar, was present in the temple. With the help of the attendants, he carried the unconscious monk into his house."[137] This text passage obviously contains some elements of hostility of the Puri temple priests toward Caitanya, the over-emotional devotee, when he first arrived in Puri. He soon had to leave the holy place, but returned a year later (c. 1510) just before the day of the bath ceremony *(snana purnima)*. "After this festival, the temple was closed as usual, and Caitanya went to Alalanatha (Alarnath) out of grief, where he derived consolation by worshipping the image of Narayana."[138] This legend probably points to two facts:

In the 16th century, the icons of the Jagannatha temple were already repainted after the *snana* ritual, i.e. before the car festival took place and the temple was then closed for devotees during the *anasara* period (which already by then was part of the annual calendar).

As an alternative to seeing Jagannatha/Vishnu in the Puri temple, the ardent Vaishnava pilgrim was directed to the *matha* at Alarnath (i.e. of the South Indian *bhaktas*), where the black stone image of Vishnu–Narayana was venerated. *Darshan* there was considered a possible alternative to Jagannatha.[139]

During his second visit to Puri, Caitanya stayed on for several years[140] and it is entirely possible that the then king of Puri, Prataparudra deva, accepted him as his spiritual preceptor.[141] The saintly pilgrim may well have advised the king to see to it that there should be an opportunity to have *darshan* of the Lord also during the *anasara* period – if not of Jagannatha then at least of Narayana at Alarnath, which was in the vicinity of his own establishment. It is also quite possible that Caitanya supported the interchangeability of the Alarnath Vishnu and Jagannatha during the *anasara* period. But one should, at the same time, not underestimate the financial needs of the Puri priests: it was obviously not in their interest that pilgrims spend their money for offerings at Alarnath *matha* before participating at the car festival. Therefore to have an image of this Vishnu–Narayana in Puri itself could make a visit to Alarnath *matha* unnecessary because one could have *darshan* of this Narayana icon in the form of a picture (with his iconographically correct, classical appearance) in the Jagannatha temple and could worship in Puri at this point of time Vishnu in both appearances, first as Narayana and then during the car festival as Jagannatha. This was, no doubt, an ingenious move!

Since the Gaudiya Vaishnavism faith, as lived and preached by Caitanya, was slowly gaining acceptance in Puri in the 16th century, the visit of South Indian Vaishnava and Bengali Bhakti devotees was obviously of prime interest to the Puri priests, even from a financial point of view! They seem to have given great importance to their visit of Alarnath and Caitanya *matha* at Brahmagiri, possibly not only during this short span of time before the car festival when the largest mass of pilgrims arrived in Puri annually. It is entirely possible that to attract (South Indian) Vaishnava pilgrims to the Jagannatha temple in Puri, the picture of Narayana of Alarnath was customarily installed in the Jagannatha temple as a temporary replacement of Jagannatha. This might have taken some decades until it was firmly accepted and codified in a *niti* text – but in 1627 this was formally done. And in the same year the first iconographic description of the *anasara patis* for all three deities was noted down – very much as they are installed even today.[142]

The similarities between the Alarnath Narayana relief and the Jagannatha/Narayana painting are noticeable. Ob-

viously, the stone icon is depicted standing and is worshipped by Garuda, whereas on the *anasara patis* Narayana is seated on a throne[143] and his animal mount is missing. Similar features of sculpture and painting are the benign look of the rounded face under the large *mukuta* crown, and the position of emblems in the upper hands with the mace, however, being changed from the left to the right front hand.

The companion icons[144] to Jagannatha / Narayana are much less venerated than the "Lord of the World"; nevertheless they are of importance.[145] Balarama (Balabhadra) is also mentioned in the *Mahapurushavidya* text[146] as being of similar appearance to Narayana but of white complexion, with a plough in hand and rolling eyes because of his intoxication and with arms stretched forward. He is decorated like an aristocratic man with earrings, necklace etc. and wears a crown and a dark-blue dress. A seven-hooded snake forms a canopy over him. He is called Ananta because even gods cannot reach his "end" *(anta)*, and Baladeva because of his "strength" *(bala)*.

It has been argued with good reason that Balarama replaced Shiva in the Puri triad at an earlier time, not only because both of them are of white complexion. Like Ananta, Balarama also represents the seven-hooded primordial snake on which the god Vishnu rests and in the form of a human body Ananta is canopied by the snake that became his emblem, and because the snake is also an important attribute of the god Shiva,[147] a visual exchange of the one through the other was entirely possible.

Concerning the Devi, the *Mahapurushavidya* text passage remarks[148] that the goddess as the mother and preserver of the world is called Mahalakshmi, who appears in the form of Subhadra. She stands to Narayana / Jagannatha's right and is of saffron-yellow complexion, two-armed, holding lotuses in her hands.

Subhadra – sister of Krishna and Balarama – has no attributes as such, but in the context with Vishnu this goddess is often conceived as a form of Shri or Lakshmi. On *anasara patis* of the Puri temple she is however called Bhuvaneshvari, the "Lady of the World", a name that matches the exalted title of Jagannatha, the "Lord of the Universe". The goddess carries lotuses in her upper hands like Mahalakshmi, a clear "approximation" with the benevolent[149] and nowadays widely worshipped goddess of luck and prosperity, Lakshmi, the eternal wife of Vishnu, who in local legends is often viewed as a "rival" to Subhadra, Jagannatha's sister.

Subhadra is not a Vaishnava goddess revered anywhere outside the Jagannatha temple.[150] It is uncertain when her name was introduced for the female companion or kind of consort of Jagannatha: in the earlier representations of the triad, the goddess placed between the two young male gods is called Ekanamsha.[151] Since she stands to the right of Jagannatha, she cannot be his spouse, and therefore possibly the concept of "his sister" was introduced.

There was always an interest of the Gajapati kings of Orissa as well as of the temple priests in Puri to make the temple of Jagannatha the entire continent's most important pilgrimage place and to cater for a maximum number of devotees. In Puri strategies were developed to attract Hindus from all over India and also allow them to gain here, in the temple compound around the throne of Jagannatha, visions *(darshan)* of their personal gods and goddesses, to experience here in Puri the fulfilment of their religious search. Therefore, within the Jagannatha temple complex a large number of shrines and temples of other deities have been erected over the centuries and many of them are worshipped daily by appointed priests, so that the visitors can have *darshan* of as many goddesses and gods as possible.

There is a rather unimportant Bhuvaneshvari temple within the Jagannatha compound. The icon of the goddess is of stone but dressed in tailored textiles (see fig. 165). Because of this, its iconographic details are available to us only from a colour print, produced from the picture of an unknown painter.

Within a vertical rectangular frame, the standing goddess is shown four-armed with a coiling snake *(sarpa)* and the goad *(ankusha)* in the upper hands, the lower right showing the granting of favours *(varada)*, the left granting protection *(abhaya)*. The goddess has a third eye on her forehead and wears a large crown with a crescent in the centre and *makara* decorations at the side.[152]

This (most probably relatively recent) stone icon is dressed daily by the priests with various costume parts, such as a blouse and a sari with stiff folds, and decorated with bracelets, necklaces, ear and nose rings etc. The body is painted light yellow with a mixture of sandalwood and turmeric paste in the evening, the time of erotic enjoyments *(sringara)*.

The emblems displayed – snake and goad – clearly show the association of the goddess with Shiva as Bhuvaneshvara ("Lord of the World"). On the *anasara patis* the Puri painters have changed her emblems to be more befitting to her "new" partner Vishnu, but most South Orissan *citrakaras* continue with the "older" concept and show emblems she is seen with here. In the 1627 *niti* of Puri it is already stated that the goddess should hold two lotuses in her upper hands.[153]



Fig. 166 Worship of Jagannatha, ascribed to Raghunatha Prusti, c. 1890/1900

The visits of Ramanuja and Caitanya, and the continuing stream of their followers, have left two major visual impacts on the representation of Jagannatha/Narayana, i.e. in the shape of his forehead mark *(tilaka)* where we find two forms: one we associate with the Ramanandi group, i.e. the followers of Sri Ramanuja and his *bhakti* version of Vishnuism.[154] It is rather broad and flat, with a central vertical line and a pointed end, i.e. somewhat V-shaped, accentuated by a dot at the base. The other is a simple U-mark with a central dot in the middle. This is called the Hari *tilaka* and is a sign of the Gaudiya Vaishnava practice, which was introduced in Puri by Shri Caitanya.

On *anasara patis* from South Orissan workshops, the Ramanandi *tilaka* is still common, whereas the Puri painters have changed the *tilaka* form to the later Gaudiya version, even though the icon of Jagannatha is fitted with the golden Ramanandi-type *tilaka* at the time of the annual car festival.

We do not know when exactly the "iconography" for *anasara patis* that is used today in Puri was first introduced in the Jagannatha cult, but fortunately there is some textual evidence that it existed very similarly already in the mid-17th century. The earliest description of these two-dimensional replacements for the wooden icons are found in the *Niladrimahodaya*,[155] a most detailed account[156] of all ceremonies which are to be performed in the Jagannatha temple of Puri. The text pleads that in the year 1627 the rituals in the Jagannatha cult were reformed and a change towards a "Krishnaization" was introduced by the Raja of Khurda-Puri Narasimha deva I (1622–1647). The text clearly mentions that three *ana(va)sara* paintings should be hung on a mat to be worshipped during the period when the Jagannatha icons are being repainted, but doesn't say whether this was then an old tradition or a new introduction.

The *Niladrimahodaya* further informs that Jagannatha, who is called here Parameshvara, should be shown on the painting as Narayana "seated on a lotus on a *simhasana* (lion throne) and will be four-handed. He should have *cakra* in the upper right hand and *shankha* in the lower hand. There should be *gada* in the upper left hand and lotus in the lower hand.[157] He should have *mukuta* on the head and *trimundi* and *kundala* in the ears. He should be shown wearing yellow-coloured cloth with girdle and waistband over it. The figure should be flanked by the figure of Brahma on one side and seven *rishis (saptarishi)* on the other side. There should be Sudarshana *cakra* on the left side."

The text clearly mentions the sequence of emblems. But in all available pictures, produced 350 years later, the hands holding these attributes have been changed. And, strangely enough, *Sudarshana cakra*, the separate representation of Vishnu's disc or wheel, is entirely omitted by contemporary painters, as is the figure of Brahma.

According to this *niti* text, the figure of "Subhadra should be shown in painting as seated on lotus and will be four handed. Her complexion will be yellow, mixed with *kumkuma*. The two lower hands will be in *abhaya* pose and the upper two hands will hold lotuses just blooming. Then she should have a *mukuta cula* and other ornaments. She should be wearing new cloth and flanked with figures of two maids on two sides."

The gestures of this goddess have been diversified by the 20th-century painters to *varada* and *abhaya mudras*, and in the pictures, which are not made by Puri painters, another set of emblems occurs.[158]

The *niti* text also refers to a painting representing Balabhadra as Thakura (according to Das, 1982, 187) or as Vasudeva (according to Kulke, 1979, 145). It should replace from now on (i.e. 1627) the picture of Sadashiva.[159] "This figure of the deity should be four-handed, seated on a lotus and of white complexion. He is to have *hala* in the right lower hand and *gada* in the upper hand. He should have *cakra* in the upper left hand and *padma* in the lower hand. There should

be a seven-hooded snake over *trimundi*. He should have *mukuta* and *kundala*. He is to have a girdle and a waistband over cloth. There should be a rosy smile playing on his lips... He should be flanked by Narada and Brahma on two sides."

According to this translation, the emblems of Balabhadra's upper hands were exchanged in later times, and also the club *(gada)* was replaced by a more slender pestle *(mushala)* – at least by the majority of today's painters. Narada's figure still appears to the deity's left, but Brahma has been replaced by an image of Shiva, whenever such celestial or divine attendant figures appear on the painting.

109 When mentioning these *anasara patis*, Williams, 1996, 58 writes: "Ironically, these images do not resemble the archaic wooden images of the triad, and while produced under ritualistic circumstances... and following iconic canons, they are not necessarily as conservative stylistically as other images produced by the *citrakaras*." This may suggest not only that *anasara patis* have undergone stylistic changes in recent times but also that they are a late iconographic invention.

110 It is necessary to keep in mind that most high-caste devotees have religious texts in mind, when viewing the icons, describing Jagannatha's "appearance" *(svarupa)* as similar, as mentioned in the *Mahapurushavidya* manuscript, see Schneider, 1984, 32–35.

111 There are many possible interpretations for this name, see Liebert, 1976, 193.

112 See Dash, 1978, 164.

113 The temple management in Puri seems conservative and regionalistic outwardly, but in fact advocates also the universality of Jagannatha and propagates the "classicism" advocated by the Brahmin class.

114 These descendents of the founder-Sabara-priest Vidyapati "repeat" what in the Indradyumna legend god Vishvakarma had done. It is mentioned already in the texts (possibly of the early 14th century) that the wooden icons are to be re-decorated annually, i.e. repainted after the old surface is removed (see Geib, 1975, 118, 134).

115 For the *netrotsava* ritual during the *navakalevara* ceremony see Tripathi, 1978, 263.

116 For *ganesha vesa* and its historic introduction in the Jagannatha cult in Puri, see Tripathi, 2004, 84f. The earliest visual historic document of this (temporary) "Ganeshification" of Jagannatha is found in a detail in the depiction of a Puri temple map on the walls of the Virinci Narayana temple in Buguda (Ganjam District), a mural (see fig. 156) to be dated around 1820 (Williams, 1996, 61). We published this detail already in Fischer–Pathy, 1980 (fig. 577) before its recent refurbishment.

117 This text is edited and translated by Schneider, 1984, 32–34.

118 "For visiting the deities during this period, one goes to hell with one's forefathers and continues to be there for thousands of Yugas", see Ray, 1998, 144.

119 The *matha* is named after the Alvars, Bhakti-Vaishnavas from South India. Ramanuja himself was not an Alvar.

120 It is obviously no coincidence that this icon is traditionally called Narayana, as are the pictorial representations of Jagannatha as *anasara pati*.

121 Ray, 1998, 144.

122 Ray, 1998, 143.

123 Ray, 1998, 143f.

124 Interestingly, the other two deities of the triptych – Subhadra and Balabhadra – are not mentioned in this legend! Ramanuja worshipped only Jagannatha.

125 The site is already mentioned by Dash, 1978, 158, discussing Ramanuja's visit to Puri.

126 The topos of gaining a "vision of Vishnu at Alarnath" will also occur in legends of the lives of saints such as Ramanuja and Caitanya.

127 The Alvars, "constantly immersed in deep meditation", were originally a group of about twelve Tamil saintly poets, who initiated the first *bhakti* movement in the 6th to the 9th centuries.

128 This is obviously legendary. But it is entirely possible that Ramanuja visited Puri before 1096 and tried to reform the mode of worship of Jagannatha only, but without success, see Dash, 1978, 157–161.

129 Donaldson, 1987, 1121, points out that very few Vishnu icons in seated pose *(asana murti)* exist in Orissan art. Most Vishnu sculptures are standing and are of the Janardana type, besides a few Lakshmi–Narayana reliefs (obviously modelled after Umamaheshvara shaiva prototypes). The legendary "Nilamadhava" black stone icon is of this Janardana type, see Geib, 1975, 91.

130 "He, who has a lotus as his seat, who is eternal, imperishable and unchangeable, he who has all these (four) attributes and is lotus-eyed and makes the demons *(asuras)* tremble, is Janardan", Vettam Mani, 1979, 347.

131 Often a large silver-coated moulded lotus is fixed in front of the palm for the worship.

132 For Vishnu–Janardana reliefs with *varada mudra* of the lower right hand see Donaldson, 1987, figs. 3682–3721.

133 The importance of *mahaprasad* for pilgrims is enormous! To receive it is considered as beneficial to the devotee as having *darshan*.

134 It is epigraphically confirmed that King Purushottama deva made enormous land grants to the Puri priests *(sevakas)* shortly after his coronation in 1467, see Kulke, 1979, 73.

135 To commemorate Caitanya's stay at Brahmagiri, his followers have founded the Gaudiya *matha* in the neighbourhood of Alarnath.

136 This "ecstatic viewing" of the icon is a topos also made use of in the *Mahapurushavidya*, one of the eulogies of Jagannatha: here it is the seer Vyasa, who, informed by Narada, moves to Puri, the eternal home of Jagannatha. When he arrives at the eastern gate he falls down like a log... Finally, when he stands in front of Jagannatha's throne "bliss penetrates him". He loses consciousness when he sees Jagannatha who is now called Madhava. See Schneider, 1984, 35.

137 Dash, 1978, 310.

138 Dash, 1978, 311.

139 Tripathi, 2004, 296: There was "a period when Jagannatha was considered to be identical with Narayana (the older Nilamadhava?)".

140 The Caitanya *matha* is in the direct neighbourhood of Alarnath. It is likely that Caitanya stayed here – not in Puri itself.

141 For historic details and a discussion see Kulke, 1979, 76f.

142 One should not forget that Caitanya, who associated Krishna with Jagannatha, was first met with stiff resistance from the five Oriya companions *(pancha sakha)*. As far as the introduction of the *anasara patis* is concerned, Caitanya's inclination towards Krishna did not influence the Jagannatha priests much: there are no signs for Krishna visible on the *anasara patis*. The only influence of Gaudiya Vaishnavism that we can detect is the use of the *Hari tilaka* (U-shaped with a dot at the centre and a second one on the nose). But otherwise an immediate "Krishnaization" of Jagannatha as a result of Caitanya's visit is not visible in the temple ceremonies. There is nevertheless a touching line in a 17th-century Oriya poem: "O Jagannatha, you have now taken to the flute, renouncing conch and disc."

143 Followers of Caitanya describe in the 16th century Jagannatha's throne as a royal golden seat, bejewelled and glowing like "the seed-capsule *(karnika)* of a lotus". (For a detailed discussion see Schneider, 1989, 129–141.) It was brought to Puri by King Purushottama deva (1467–1497) when he had plundered the city of Vijayanagara. This throne originally belonged to an icon called Shakshigopala, but was presented to Jagannatha by the king (Schneider, 1989, 137). It is obviously not identical with the stone platform *(ratna vedi)* of our time.

144 The early concept of a triad Ananta–Ekanamsa–Vasudeva – as formulated visually in a stone relief found in the Anantavasudeva temple of 1278 – might have been of relevance for the earliest stage of the three pictures that are identified today as Ananta–Bhuvaneshvari–Narayana. It is most likely that the Jagannatha triad was installed in Puri in c. 1310, when the name "Jagannatha" is used for the first time in an inscription, see Geib, 1975, 134.

J.P. Das (1982, 130) is of the opinion that already as a result of Ramanuja's visit to Puri during the 12th and early 13th centuries, when the great temple was built, "the Triad came to be identified with Krishna, Balarama and Subhadra. The first epigraphical mention of Jagannatha as Krishna is in a 1237 C.E. inscription... describing the Triad as Halin (Balabhadra), Chakrin (Krishna) and Subhadra." But can this *"cakra*-holder" of the 13th century already be approximated with Krishna? The great Oriya poet Sarala Dasa of the 15th century treats Jagannatha as neither Krishna nor as Buddha but as Vishnu himself (Das, 1982, 129), which is clearly an indication that a "Krishnaization" had not yet commenced.

145 The *sudarshana* pillar, manifestation of Vishnu's disc, is not included in the *anasara pati* group and therefore left out of this discussion.

146 See Schneider, 1984, 34.

147 For a large Shiva bust crowned by a *mukuta* crown with a prominent seven-headed snake, see the *yama pati* from Paralakhemandi in Fischer–Pathy, 1980, fig. 484 or in Das, 1982, pl. 15.

148 See Schneider, 1984, 35.

149 Lakshmi is the embodiment of the benevolent and as a "mild *(saumya)* goddess" somewhat in opposition to Durga, basically a "wild *(ugra)* goddess", see Michaels–Vogelsanger–Wilke, 1996, 22f.

150 In the Jagannatha temple of Puri she is worshipped as Bhuvaneshvari (see Tripathi, 2004, 387). "No animal sacrifices... are given to Subhadra who has turned into a *paramavaishnavi* goddess" (Tripathi, 2004, 389), in contrast to the goddess Vimala who is worshipped on the same lines but receives thrice a year goat sacrifices in front of her shrine, which is situated on the left side of the main temple (Tripathi, 2004, 389).

151 Ekanamsha – the goddess standing between Krishna (Vasudeva) and Balarama – was common in the 6th century, see Tripathi, 2004, 385.

152 For a goddess as a *shakti* of Shiva with the attribute of a coiling snake, see Fischer–Pathy, 1980, fig. 506.

Durga combined in one *pata* painting with Jagannatha has vishnuitic attributes in her upper hands (*cakra* and *shankha*), see Fischer–Pathy, 1980, fig. 510; Das, 1982, pl. 13.

153 It is astonishing that the overpowering *bhakti* movement of Caitanya left no visible traces in the *anasara patis*, except possibly the lotuses in Subhadra's hands. But "Subhadra" has not become a two-armed Radha nor Jagannatha a young Krishna with flute in hand and peacock-feather crown on his head.

154 This has already been noted by Dash, 1978, 158, quoting S.N. Rajguru.

155 The *Niladrimahodaya* (lit. "The great rise on the Blue Mountain") is a mid-18th-century palm-leaf manuscript, see Tripathi, 2004, 81. One copy was registered by the Orissa Research Project (Heidelberg University) and was translated by S.C. De. Excerpts were published by Kulke, 1979, 145, and four paragraphs relevant to painting by Das, 1982, 187. This highly important manuscript is discussed in detail by Tripathi, 2004, 77–88 and also by Ray, 1998.

156 Unfortunately, this text is not yet published in extenso with all available annotation and textual derivations. Currently, it is referred to by authors in diverse translations.

157 This arrangement of attributes is normally considered to represent Vishnu as Vamana, see Rao, 1914, 229.

158 They might well have been part of the "earlier" iconography.

159 This detail, that "a painted image of Sadashiva was worshipped as a representative of the Deity Balabhadra during the time of *Anavasara*", is not mentioned by Kulke, 1979, but by Tripathi, 2004, 76.

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This "micro art history study" documents in its first part all known samples of *anasara pati*-paintings, i.e. annually produced pictures on cloth which serve as temporary replacements for the then absent wooden icons in temples of Lord Jagannatha in Puri and South Orissa. Since the iconography of this type of ritualistic paintings is defined by tradition and has to be strictly adhered to by the painters; changes in iconographic details and even stylistic features can only be minimal. Nevertheless minor deviations occur. By carefully viewing these paintings, the exact range of variations, the scope for idiosyncrasies, personal liberties and preferences, and the perpetuation of changes in the production of these religious pictures can be pointed out in the face of an ideology advocated and severely controlled by temple authorities that doesn't permit something like "change" but believes in the permanence of eternal values and forms.

In the second part of the book the authors reconstruct the history of *anasara*-pictures. Here the focus is on why do two different iconographies for the Jagannatha triad co-exist and under what conditions these painted "classical" triptychs may have been invented and made to stay.

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